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३. पुस्तक पर निशान लगाना पृष्ट, फाडना सर्वथा मना है। ऐसा करना दण्डनीय है।

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SRI DINESACANDRIKA

Studies in Indology

SHRI D.C. SIRCAR *FESTSCHRIFT*

Editors
B.N. Mukherjee
D.R. Das
S.S. Biswas
S.P. Singh

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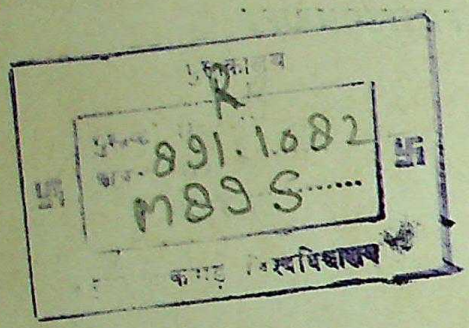

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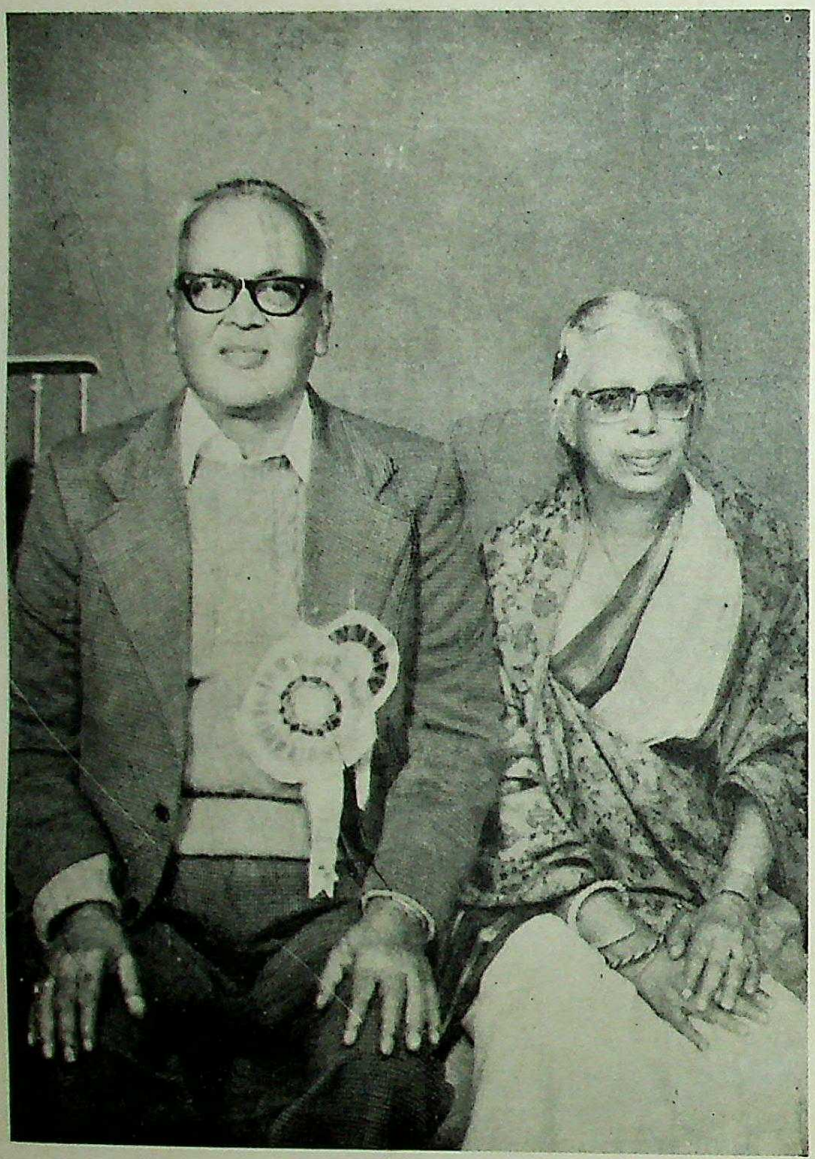

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Editors' Note

Prof. Dines Chandra Sircar, who has become a legend during his lifetime, is one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of Indologists. By way of paying tribute to this celebrated savant, Bihār Purātattva evaṁ Saṁskṛti Pariṣad decided to publish his felicitation volume. Accordinly, the Pariṣad invited scholars to write papers for that volume. The response was overwhelming. For unavoidable circumstances not all of them could be accepted for publication. On behalf of the Pariṣad, the Editors regret this. They also take this opportunity to express sincere thanks, again on behalf of the Pariṣad, to all those who sent their papers to the Pariṣad for the proposed felicitation volume.

When the Editors were given the entire collection of papers for scrutiny, not much time was left for a thorough editing. In not a few instances, discripency in the system of transliteration and use of diacritical marks, absence of abbreviation list, indifferently prepared manuscprits etc., made the task of editing very difficult. Discriminating readers may, therefore, not be quite happy with the Editors' performance. Notwithstanding this fact, the Editors consider themselves privileged being associated with Bihār Purātattva evaṁ Saṁskṛti Pariṣad's laudable endeavour of paying homage in the form of a felicitation volume to Prof. Dines Chandra Sircar.

EDITORS

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Part I

DINESCHANDRA SIRCAR

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A. Biographical Sketch

I. BIRTH

Son of Jajneswar (Ayurvedic physician) and Kusumkumari, born on 8.6.1907 at Krishnanagar (or Salkathi Krishnanagar), about six miles to the west of Faridpur in East Bengal (now Bangladesh).

II. EDUCATION

(1) B.A., Calcutta University (1929) with Honours in Sanskrit; (2) M.A., do (1931) in Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group IA—Epigraphy and Numismatics)—First in First Class and awardee of gold medal and University prizes; (3) Research Scholar attached to Professor D.R. Bhandarkar, do. (1.12.33 to 31.3.34); (4) Premchand Roychand Student, do. (1.4.34 to 31.3.36); (5) Ph. D., i.e. Doctor of Philosophy, do. (1936); (6) Mouat Gold Medalist (for successful completion of research work as Premchand Roychand Student), do. (1937).

III. POSITIONS HELD

(1) Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University (13.7.37 to 13.1.49 permanent from 1.6.47); (2) Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India (17.1.49 to 30.8.53 with break from 1.8.49 to 12.2.50); (3) Superintendent for Epigraphy, do. (1.8.49 to 12.2.50, 31.8.53 to 13.5.55 and 25.5.57 to 9.3.58); (4) Government Epigraphist for India, do. (14.5.55 to 14.6.61 with break from 25.5.57 to 9.3.58); (5) Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University (19.6.62 to 31.7.72); (6) Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, do. (1.6.65 to 31.7.72); (7) Director of the Centre

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of Advanced Study in A.I.H. and C., do. (1.6.65 to 31.8.74); (8) Visiting Professor, Departments of Oriental Studies and South Asian Regional Study, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. (1.9.74 to 31.12.74); (9) do., Department of History, Bhagalpur University (1.12.77 to 31.1.78); (10) do., Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University (1.2.78 to 30.4.78); and (11) do., Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan (1.5.78 to 29.4.79).

IV. ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE INDIA

Besides Visiting Professorship at the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia mentioned above, (1) Participant at the International Conference on South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (July 1956); (2) Visiting Lecturer at the Oriental Faculty, Universities of Tashkent (Lenin University), Leningrad and Moscow, U.S.S.R. (October to December 1961); (3) Participant at the International Conference on the History and Culture of the Kuṣāṇas, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, U.S.S.R. (27.9.68 to 5.10.68); (4) Participant at the All-Bangladesh History Congress, University of Dacca (12.5.73 to 14.5.73—President at the Morning Session on 13.5.73); (5) Delivered a lecture at the plenary session of the South Asia Conference, Oshkosh Campus, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. (15.11.74), presided over the session on the Minnesota University's Historical Atlas of South Asia Project there (16.11.74), and delivered two lectures at the Wisconsin University's Madison Campus (18.11.74 and 19.11.74); (6) delivered one lecture each in U.S.A. at the Weekly Seminar of the South Asia Regional Studies Department, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (10.10.74), the Oriental Club of Philadelphia (5.12.74), the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (6.12.74) and the Department of Religions, Columbia University, New York (9.12.74); (7) Participant at the International Congress on Bengal Art, Dacca Museum, Bangladesh (7.5.76 to 9.5.76); (8) Participant at the West Berlin Session of the German Orientalists' Conference (24.3.80 to 29.3.80—presided over the Indology Section in the morning of 26.3.80); (9) Delivered one lecture each at the Free University of Berlin (31.3.80) and the Universities of Bonn (15.4.80), Marburg (18.4.80) and Freiburg (22.4.80) and two lectures each at the Universities of Koeln (16.4.80 and 17.4.80) and Heidelberg (21.4.80).

V. HONORARY FELLOWSHIPS, ETC.

(1) Honorary Fellow of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1970; (2) Sir William Jones Memorial Gold Medalist of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1972; (3) Akbar Silver Medalist of the Numismatic Society of India, 1973; (4) Honorary Fellow of the Archaeological Society of India, New Delhi, 1974; (5) Honorary Fellow of the Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore, 1974; (7) Member of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1974 to 1980; (8) Honorary Vidyā Vāridhi of the Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nalanda, Bihar (1975); (9) Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1975; (10) Viśiṣṭa-sadasya (Honorary Member),

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Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (1977); (11) Recipient of the Tāmrapatra and Shawl of the Epigraphical Society of India at its Fourth Annual Session at Madras (11.1.78 to 13.1.78); (12) Honorary Fellow, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madurai, 1981; (13) Chairman, Board of Trustees, Uttankita Vidya Aranya Trust, Mysore, 1981; (14) Patron, Bihar Purātattva evaṁ Saṁskṛti Pariṣad, Gaya, 1981; (15) Honorary Fellow, Purātattva Saṁsad, Calcutta, 1982; (16) Fellow of the School of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, 1982.

VI. CHAIRMANSHIP, ETC.

(A) *General President.* (1) All-India Oriental Conference, Ujjain Session (26.10.72 to 28.10.72); (2) Fifth Andhra Pradesh History Congress, Nagarjunanagar (Guntur) Session (6.12.80 and 7.12.80); (3) Fortyfirst Indian History Congress, Bombay Session (26.12.80 to 28.12.80).

(B) *President.* (1) Fourth Anniversary of the Jayaswal Archaeological and Historical Society, Begusarai, Bihar (January 1954); (2) Numismatic Society of India, Calcutta Session (December, 1955); (3) Do, Agra Session (December, 1956); (4) Seminar on Modernizing Indological Studies, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad (12.12.72 to 14.12.72); (5) Epigraphical Society of India, Second Annual Session, Indore (6.10.75 to 8.10.75); (6) Seminar on Some Aspects of Assamese History, Assam Research Society (Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti) Gauhati (11.9.77); (7) Seminar on Bengal Coinage, University of Burdwan (19.12.78); (8) Session preparatory for the International Seminar on History and Culture of Pre-Gupta Mathura, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi (3.1.79 to 5.1.79); (9) Seminar on Geographical Factors in Early Indian History, Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University (22.3.79 and 23.3.79); (10) Seminar on Role of Museums in the Promotion of Rural Education, Tamralipta Museum and Research Centre, Tamluk, (25.9.82 and 26.9.82).

(C) *Sectional President.* (1) Section II (Early Medieval Period), Indian History Congress, Delhi Session (December 1948); (2) History Section, All-India Oriental Conference, Delhi Session (December 1957); (3) Section D (Buddhist Literature and its Influence on Human Culture), International Buddhist Conference, Magadh University, Bodhgaya (14.2.78 to 18.2.78); (4) History and Greater Bengal Section, All-India Bengali Literary Conference, Agartala Session, 1974 (28.12.78); (5) History Section, Silver Jubilee Seminar, Research Department, Arunachal Pradesh Government, at Shillong (7.9.77 and 8.9.77); (6) History Section, Silver Jubilee Seminar, Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nalanda (10.10.77 and 11.10.77); (7) Seminar on Pre-Kuṣāṇa History and Art of Mathurā, Max Mueller Bhavan, Delhi, at National Museum, New Delhi (24.10.77 to 26.10.77); (8) Seminar on Epigraphy—its Bearing on Art History, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi (18.12.79 to 20.12.79); (9) International Seminar on Cultural History of Ancient Mathurā, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, at New Delhi and Mathurā (7.1.80 to 15.1.80); (10) Rāmāyaṇa Seminar, Department of Modern Indian Languages, Calcutta University (14.3.80 to 16.3.80—afternoon of 14.3.80);

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(11) Inaugural Session of Seminar on Buddhism, Centre of Advanced Study, Dept. of A.I.H.C., Calcutta University (9.4.82).

VII. LECTURES DELIVERED

(A) *Endowment Lectures.* (1) Raghunath Prasad Nopany Lectures, Calcutta University (between 18.12.62 and 11.1.73); (2) Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectures, Lucknow University (November 1964); (3) Sir William Meyer Lectures in History for the year 1965-66, Madras University (March 1966); (4) Rai Bahadur Bissesswarlal Motilal Halwasiya Lectures, Calcutta University (5.12.68, 19.12.68 and 26.12.68); (5) Principal Sita Ram Kohli Lectures, Punjabi University, Patiala (20.3.72 and 22.3.73); (6) Atombapu Sharma Lectures, Atambapu Research Centre, Imphal (9.11.73 and 10.11.73); (7) Rāmlāl Hāldār and Haripriyā Devī Lectures, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (16.7.77); (8) Mallampalli Somaśekhara Śarmā Lectures, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad (14.3.78 and 15.3.78); (9) third Dr. Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture, Annual Conference of the Museums Association of India, held in Calcutta (17.1.80); (10) Mrs. Līlā Banerjee Memorial Lectures, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta (20.2.80 and 23.2.80); (11) Professor Sudhākar Caṭṭopādhyāy Memorial Lectures, Viśva-Bhārati University, Santiniketan (4.2.81 and 5.2.81).

(B) *Lecture Series.* (1) Carmichael Lectures, University of Calcutta (September 1962); (2) Extramural Lectures, Magadh University, Gaya (4.3.68 and 5.3.68); (3) Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar (16.1.69 and 18.1.69); (4) University of Mysore (20.1.69 and 21.1.69); (5) four lectures delivered while conducting Seminar Course on History of Sanskrit Literature—Early Phase of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature, University of Bangalore (12.5.69 to 15.5.69); (6) two lectures at the centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta (24.11.70 and 25.11.70); (7) three Extension Lectures at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta (April 1971); (8) University Grants Commission's National Lectures, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Saugor University (8.2.72 to 13.2.72); (9) do. at the Department of Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (15.3.72 to 19.3.72); (10) do. at the Department of History, Meerut University (23.3.72 to 28.3.72); (11) Sheth B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad (9.12.72 to 11.12.72); (12) Centre of Advanced Studies in Indology and Museology, Birla Museum, Bhopal (6.3.74 and 7.3.74); (13) two lectures at the Oriental Institute, Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara University, Tirupati (11.3.78); (14) eight lectures at the Department of Ancient History, Culture, and Archaeology, University of Allahabad (April 1978); (15) three lectures at Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta (26.4.79 to 28.4.79); (16) three extension lectures on Indian Inscriptions, Dept. of History, Jadavpur University, Calcutta 12.1.82 to 14.1.82); (17) three K.P. Jayaswal Memorial Lectures, K.P.G. Research Institute, Patna (27.11.82 to 19.11.82).

(C) *Single Lectures.* (1) Annual Address at the Bihar Research Society, Patna (2.12.62); (2) Address of the Chief Guest of Honour, All-Orissa History Congress, Bhubaneswar (5.4.69): (3) Seminar of the History Department, Utkal University,

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Bhubaneswar (6.4.69); (4) Chief Guest's address, Damond Jubilee Celebration of the AssamR esearch Society (Kāmarūpa Anusandhana Samiti), Gauhati (13.3.73); (5) Chief Guest's address at the release of publications by the Assam Publications Board (8.1.74); (6) Mahāvīra Birthday Celebrations, University of Dibrugarh (18.5.74); (7) R.G. Bhandarkar's death anniversary address, Bandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (9.9.75); (8) Convocation Address at the Viṣuva Milana (Orissa Writers' Conference), Cuttack (13.4.79); (9) Lecture at K.P. Jayaswal Birthday Centenary Celebrations, K.P.J. Research Institute, Patna (28.11.81).

VIII. APPRECIATION

As early as 1943, when Dineschandra was in his mid-thirties, a great Indologist mentioned him as one of the four most renowned writers on Indian epigraphy and palaeography living at that time.[1] A distinguished historian observed three decades later that Dineschandra is 'justly regarded as the greatest living epigraphist in India and one of the most distinguished scholars in Ancient Indian History and Culture'. "He served in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India for eleven years (correctly, twelve years and a half) and held, with distinction, the post of Government Epigraphist for five years. No other editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* has personally contributed so many articles and valuable notes and comments on others' articles in that reputed journal.....Dr. Sircar...has contributed a larger number of learned articles than any other Indologist, dead or alive."[2] Indeed the number of Dineschandra's papers and notes including reviews is now over 1200, no less than 207 having appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica* alone. Recently another savant has represented Dineschandra as the best interpreter of Indian inscriptions amongst all the epigraphists of the past and the present and has expressed his doubts if there would be another such in the near future.[3]

Dineschandra is represented by a critic as 'a prolific writer and indefatigable researcher' whose *forte* is political and dynastic history and who 'is at his best in the decipherment of disputed words in inscriptions and in the discussion of their meaning' and is 'generally reliable in matters of detail and in the faithful translation and transliteration of texts'; it is further said that his 'criticism may sound harsh and blunt, but...are always competent, scholarly and informative'.[4]

As a historian, Dineschandra's name is generally regarded as 'a sufficient guarantee' for the merits of his published works.[5] In a review of his work entitled *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā* (Calcutta, 1965), reference was made to 'his excellence in a type of historical research which may be called the first level of synthesis', by which was meant

1. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, 1943, pp. 176-77.
2. See R. C. Majumdar in Sircar's *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts*, Delhi, 1974, p. xiii.
3. Prabodh Chandra Sen in Sircar's *Śilālipi-tāmraśāsanādir Prasaṅga* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1982, pp. ix, xi.
4. R. S. Sharma in *The Indian Historical Review*, New Delhi Vol. I, No. 2, 1974, p. 320; cf. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol VIII, 1974-75, p. 203, note.
5. A. K. Majumdar in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. XXV, 1964, p. 97.

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'the gathering together of related epigraphs, squeezing out every drop of information they will yield, and collating the evidences of literature, numismatics and the epigraphs of contemporary kingdoms in assessing their full significance'. "One can almost say of Professor Sircar that, like a hunger-artist, the less nourishment he has the more he thrives.....Because of the concentration which he devotes to a subject, little escapes his scrutiny and much has a wider significance than one would at first suppose..... The result is a book which no one concerned with Rājpūt history can afford to overlook, which few concerned with Indian dynastic history would want to overlook, and from which many could profit."[1] Elsewhere the same scholar said in connection with the *Studies in Indian Coins* (Delhi, 1968), "In the course of a long career devoted to the study of Indian epigraphy and numismatics,... Sircar... has earned a position of eminence in those fields by producing quantities of painstaking and objective scholarship. Specialists working this material are obliged to take Professor Sircar's judgements into account; they ignore him only at their peril."[2] The book has been regarded as 'a demonstration of the fact that outstanding Indian historical minds are now engaged in significant scholarship in Indian monetary history'[3] and as 'a ready introduction to the scientific study of Indian numismatics' in which the author exhibits 'a happy knack of painting a broad picture even in an article that is concerned with meticulous detail'.[4]

Dineschandra is counted as one of the few 'scholars who have seriously studied the subject' of historical geography of ancient and medieval India and whose number 'may be counted on one's fingers'[5] while his *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1960 and 1971) has been regarded as 'the most informative and scholarly work.....that has been written so far on the subject.[6] Likewise, his *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1973) has been hailed as 'a remarkably written ...work of undiluted critical scholarship', 'most valuable as a source of information' in which the author 'soars high in critical objectivity' providing 'irrefutable and sound arguments'.[7] In the same way, 'the Tāntrik world is proud of' and finds 'no equal to' *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (Calcutta, 1948, and Delhi, 1973)[8] which is regarded as 'a model of accurate and penetrating investigation'.[9] Dineschandra is described not only as 'one of our most indefatigable workers in the field of early Indian antiquarian and historical research', but whatever he writes is stated to rest 'upon wide,

1. Thomas R. Trautmann in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. 29, 1966, p. 299.
2. *Journal of Asian Studies*, Syracuse (New York, U. S. A.), Vol. XXIX, No. 1, 1969, p. 200.
3. Charles E. Weber in *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1970, p. 998.
4. D. W. MacDowall in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1970, Part 2, pp. 226-27.
5. R. C. Majumdar on Sircar's *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1967.
6. R. C. Majumdar in *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, Vol. LI, April, 1973, p. 235.
7. T. K. Ravindran, ibid.
8. Indar Singh (Shastrinagar, Dhalpur, Kulu, Himachal Pradesh—21.5.76).
9. Louis Renou (30.5.50).

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accurate and dependable scholarship' and as characterised by 'sound and critical objectivity'.[10]

In 1974, Dineschandra was invited to deliver a lecture at the Oriental Club at Philadelphia, U.S.A., where he spoke on certain problems of early Indian history and culture. There not only his 'enthusiasm and verve' and 'the very obvious devotion' to his 'own field of study' were praised, but the Secretary of the Club wrote a letter in which Dineschandra was mentioned as 'so well-known around the world as the greatest master now living in this field of study'.[11] In a letter, the Editor of *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London) said that Dineschandra's name is 'a household word in the orientalist circles here'.[12]

Let us end this section with a *praśasti* comprising the following stanza, full of exaggeration in the Oriental fashion as expected, which was once addressed to Dineschandra—

mahimānaṁ yad=utkīrtya tava saṁhriyate vacaḥ /
śrameṇa tad=aśaktyā vā na guṇānām=iyattayā //[13]

IX. BOOKS WRITTEN

1. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, reprinted from *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, 1935.
2. The Early Pallavas, Motilal Banarsidass, Lahore, 1935.
3. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, Calcutta University, 1939.
4. Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I (from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth century A.D.), Calcutta University, 1942 and 1965.
5. A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, Calcutta University, 1942, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970.
6. The Śākta Piṭhas, reprinted from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979.

10. N.R. Ray on *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967. Pandit Bhabatosh Bhattacharya of Bhatpara, on a perusal of the book, wrote a letter (23.8.68—in Bengali), in which he expressed his special appreciation of the view at pp. 178 ff. (interpretation of verses 11-12 of the Aphsad inscription) and pp. 204 ff. (*Gotrāntara* or change of the girl's *gotra* at the time of marriage) and was particularly pleased with the author's martery over the Sanskrit Kāvya literature exhibited in the concluding part of the book. In Bhattacharyya's opinion, Dineschandra is the only front-rank worker in the field of the history of ancient and medieval India, whose knowledge of Sanskrit is not superficial.
11. M. N. Pearson (9.12.74).
12. A. D. H. Bivar (20.12.81).
13. Jinendra Sena, Dhuri, Punjab (31.12.79). Cf. Sircar's *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts*, Delhi, 1974, pp. xix-xx.

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7. The Inscriptions of Aśoka, Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, 1967 and 1975.
8. The Maski Inscription of Aśoka, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1958.
9. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960 and 1971.
10. The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā (R. P. Nopany Endowment Lectures, Calcutta University, 1962), Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1965.
11. Indian Epigraphy, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965.
12. Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966.
13. Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature (Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures, Madras University, 1965-66), Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1967.
14. Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India, Vol. I –Society, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967.
15. Studies in Indian Coins, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1968.
16. Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition (Carmichael Lectures, Calcutta University, 1962), Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1969.
17. Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records (Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures, Lucknow University, 1964), Lucknow University, 1969.
18. Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History (B. N. Halwasiya Endowment Lectures, Calcutta University, 1959), Calcutta, 1969.
19. Problems Concerning the Kuṣāṇas, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1971.
20. Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971.
21. Mahāmāyūrī : List of Yakṣas, reprinted from *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, 1972.
22. Iranians and Greeks in Ancient Punjab, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1973.
23. Tantrasār-oddhṛtā Dhyānamālā, reprinted from *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1973.
24. Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1973.
25. Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1974.
26. Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974.

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27. Some Problems of Indian History and Culture, B. J. Institute, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, 1974.
28. Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1977.
29. Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1979.
30. Aśokan Studies, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979.
31. Problems of the Rāmāyaṇa, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, No. 19, Hyderabad, 1979.
32. Aspects of Early Indian Economic Life, reprinted from *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, Vol. XIV, 1979.
33. The Kuruksetra War and the Rajavaṁśa-varṇana of the Purāṇas, Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, 1980.
34. Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization (Vol. II) (from the Seventh to the Eighteenth Century), Delhi, 1981.
35. The Emperor and the Subordinate Rulers, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1982.

X. PERIODICALS AND VOLUMES EDITED

1. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1951-52, 1952-53, 1953-54, 1955-56, 1957-58, 1958-59 and 1959-60.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vols. XXX (1953-1954 excluding parts I-II), XXXI (1955-1956), XXXII (1957-1958 excluding parts II to IV and the first half of part VII), XXXIII (1959-1960), XXXIV (1961-1962), XXXV (1963-1964 excluding part VII) and a few parts of Vols. XXVIII (1949-1950, part VIII), XXIX (1951-1952, part VIII) and XXXVI (1965-1966, part I-III).
3. Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vols. I (1967-68). II (1968-69), III (1969-70), IV (1970-71), V (1971-72), VI (1972-73), VII (1973-74), VIII (1974-75).
4. Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India, Calcutta University, 1966.
5. The Śakti Cult and Tārā, Calcutta University, 1967.
6. Foreign Elements in Hindu population by D.R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta, 1968.
7. The Bhārata War and purāṇic Genealogies, Calcutta University, 1969.
8. Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇi, Calcutta University, 1969.
9. The Status of Woman by E.W. Hopkins Calcutta, 1970.
10. Origin of the Buddha Image by A.K. Coomaraswamy, Calcutta, 1970.
11. The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, Calcutta University, 1970.
12. Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvasti in Art and Literature, Calcutta University, 1970.

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13. Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial poetry by G. Buhler, Calcutta, 1970.
14. Early Indian Indigenous Coins, Calcutta University, 1971.
15. Social Life in Ancient India, Calcutta University, 1971.
16. Religious Life in Ancient India, Calcutta University, 1972.
17. Ancient Indian Numismatics by D.R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta, part I (1971) and part II (1972).
18. Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems, Calcutta University, 1972.
19. Trade and Industry in Ancient India, Calcutta University, 1972.
20. Ancient History of India by D.R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta, Part I (1973) and Part II (1975).
21. Early History and Culture of the Jains, Calcutta University, 1973.
22. History of the Western Chālukyas by G.C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta, Part I (1975) and Part II (1977).

XI. BOOKS IN BENGALI

1. Mālañca, Calcutta, B.S. 1355.
2. Atiter Chāyā, Calcutta, B.S. 1358.
3. Aśoker Vāṇi, Calcutta, B.S. 1388 (1981).
4. Śilālok-Tāmraśāsanādir Prasaṅga, Calcutta, 1982.
5. Sāṁkṛtik Itihāser Prasaṅga, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1982.
6. Pāl-Sen Yuger Vaṁśānucarit, Calcutta, 1982.

XII. INSCRIPTIONS

1. An Inscription dated in the Reign of Emperor Muhammad Shāh from Udaypur, *IHQ*, Vol. VII, June 1931, pp. 410 ff.
2. An Inscription of Aśoka discovered at Yerragudi, *ibid.*, December 1931, pp. 737 ff.
3. Three Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions (1. Inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I, Śaka 1165; 2. of Viravarakesarī, year 4; 3. of Gaṅga Narasiṁha II, Aṅka year 24), *IC*, Vol. III, July 1936, pp. 121-26.
4. Two Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions of the time of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhima III, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1939, pp. 71-76.
5. A Votive Inscription from the Stūpa at Ghaṇṭaśālā, *ibid.*, December 1939, p. 346.
6. Paikpārā Vāsudeva Image Inscription of King Govindacandra of Bengal, Year 23, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, April 1941, pp. 405-16.

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7. A Sanskrit-Maithili Document of the time of Muḥammad Shāh, A.D. 1730, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Com.*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 87-91.
8. Vatsagulma Copper-plate grant of King Vindhyaśakti II, *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, March 1941, pp. 110-16.
9. Goa Copper-plate Inscription of King Candravarman, *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), 1942, pp. 510-14.
10. Kalaikuri Copper-plate Inscription of Gupta Year 120, *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, March 1943, pp. 12-26.
11. Piparḍūlā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra of Śarabhapura, *ibid.*, June 1943, pp. 139-46 (with L.P. Pandeya).
12. Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka Image Inscription of King Mahipāla of Bengal, Year 4, *IC*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1942, pp. 121-25.
13. Nālandā Seals, *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, 1943, pp. 272-81.
14. Kalibhana Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavaṁśi King Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, *ibid.*, Vol. XX, September 1944, pp. 237-50 (with P.C. Rath).
15. Kailan Copper-plate Inscription of King Śridhāraṇa Rāta of Samataṭa, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, September 1947, pp. 221-41.
16. Pāikpārār Vāsudev-mūrtite Govindacandrer Lekh, Bhāratvarṣa (Bengali), Jyaiṣṭha B.S. 1348. pp. 766-75.
17. 120 Guptābder Aprakāśita Kalaikuri Tāmraśāsan, Vaṅgaśrī (Bengali), Vaiśākh, B.S. 1350. pp. 415-21.
18. Śūravaṁśiya Harirājer Vārāṇasi Tāmraśāsan, Bhāratvarṣa, Āṣāḍh, B.S. 1351, pp. 45-47.
19. Bāṅgālār Itihāser Navāviṣkṛta Upādān (1. Two Midnapur Grants of the time of King Śaśāṅka; 2. Nārāyaṇpur Image Inscription of the time of king Mahipāla). *Pravāsī* (Bengali), Śrāvaṇ, B.S. 1350, pp. 291-300.
20. Pātnā Jilār Masjid-gātre Bāṅglā Śilālipi, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā (Bengali), Vol. LI, B.S. 1351, pp. 80-82.
21. Two Stone Inscriptions (1. Brāhmi Inscription from Barhut, 2. A Stone Inscription from the Patna District), *IRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113-16.
22. A Stone Inscription in the Patna Museum, *ibid.*, pp. 117-30.
23. Two Pillar Inscriptions (1. Banaras Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta, year 159, 2. Nālandā Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Rājyapāla year 24), *ibid.*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 5-8.
24. Two Tortoise-shell Inscriptions in the Dacca Museum, *ibid.*, pp. 101-08.
25. Puri Copper-plate Inscription of Gaṅga Bhānu II, *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 19-26.

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26. First Set of the Kendupaṭnā Plates of Gaṅga Narasiṁha II, Śaka 1217 and Aṅka 21, *ibid.*, pp. 33-39.
27. Two Plates of Devānandadeva, *EI*, Vol. XXVII, 1947-1948, pp. 325-34.
28. Barli Fragmentary Stone Inscription, *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, 1951, pp. 34-38.
29. Nanduru Earthen pot Inscription, *JAHRS*, Vol. XIX, 1945, pp. 203-07.
30. Copper-plate Inscription of King Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73-82.
31. Copper-plate Inscription of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata, *ibid.*, pp. 83-94.
32. Some Inscriptions from Bihar, *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, 1952, Parts 3-4, pp. 1-13.
33. Chicacole Plates of Gaṅga Devendravarman, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XXVIII, 1952, pp. 17-20.
34. Chicacole plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman, *ibid.*, pp. 47-51.
35. Kesaribeḍa plates of Nala Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, 1949-1950, pp. 12-17.
36. Cheedivalasa Plates of Gaṅga Devendravarman, Gaṅga Year 397, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 77-81.
37. Une Inscription sur Piere de V.S. 1553 du District de Patna, *Journale Asiatique*, 1950, pp. 97-101.
38. Inscription of King Harirāja of Bundelkhand, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XVIII, 1948-49, pp. 51-57.
39. Manduk Inscription (Pāla Rule in the Tippera District), *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, March 1952, pp. 51-57.
40. Madras Museum Plates of Narendradhavala, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, 1949-1950, pp. 40-50.
41. Polsara Plates of Arkeśvaradeva, Yugābda 4248, *ibid.*, pp. 63-67.
42. Sumaṇḍala Plates of Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, Gupta Year 250, ibid., pp. 79-85.
43. Hindol Plates of Kulasthamba, *ibid.*, pp. 107-14 (with P. Acharya).
44. Three Inscriptions from Valgudar, *ibid.*, pp. 137-45.
45. Two Inscriptions from Jāipur, *ibid.*, pp. 179-85.
46. Guñjī Rock Inscription, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XIX, 1953, pp. 59-61.
47. Kendupaṭnā Plates of Narasiṁha II, Sets II and III, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, 1949-1950, pp. 185-95.
48. Terundia plate of Śubhākra II, *ibid.*, pp. 211-16.
49. Four Bhaikṣukī Inscritions, *ibid.*, pp. 220-26.
50. Nagarī Plates of Anaṅgabhīma III, Śaka 1151 and 1152, *ibid.*, pp. 235-58.
51. Russellkoṇḍa Plates of Neṭṭabhañja, *ibid.*, pp. 258-63.

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52. Two Grants of the Bhañja King of Vañjulvaka (1. Plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalasa, 2. of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalasa), *ibid.*, pp. 272-83 (with p. Acharya).
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XXII. ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LISTS

ABORI : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Pune).
ASMB : Asiatic Society's Monthly Bulletin, Calcutta.
BV : Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay.
EI : Epigraphia Indica, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
IAC : Indo-Asian Culture, New Delhi.
IC : Indian Culture, Calcutta.
IHR : Indian Historical Review, New Delhi.
IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
IMB : Indian Meseum Bulletin, Calcutta.
INC : Indian Numismatic Chronicle, Patna.
JAHRS : Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
JARS : Journal of the Assam Research Society (Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti), Gauhati.
JAS : Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. See *JRASB*.
JBRS : Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
JES : Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore and Dharwar, also called Purābhilekha Patrika, the earlier volumes being published under the title 'Studies in Indian Epigraphy'.
JIH : Journal of Indian History, Madras and Trivandrum.
JGIS : Journal of the Greater Indian Society, Calcutta.
JKHRS : Journal of the Kalinga Historical Society, Bolangir, Orissa.
JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
JOI : Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
JOR : Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.

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JRAS	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JRASB	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. See *JAS*.
JUB	: Journal of the University of Bombay.
JUG	: Journal of the University of Gauhati.
JUPHS	: Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
NAI	: New Indian Antiquary, Poona.
NC	: Numismatic Chronicle, London.
OHRG	: Orissa Historical Research Journal, Bhubaneṣwar.
PAIOC	: Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
PIHC	: Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
QJMS	: Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
VSPP	: Vāñgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Calcutta.

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Part II

PRABANDHĀVALĪ

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1

A Note on the Nagari Inscription of Mughal Emperor Babur from Gwalior Fort

Z.A. DESAI

A plausible attempt was made by Dr. R. Nāth a couple of years back[1] to identify the building called Assī Khambhā (whom he redesignated Chaurasi-Khambha, for reasons not known), situated a little to the south of the Mān-Mandir Palace, near the Hāthiā-Paur (Elephant Gateway) of the famous Gwalior Fort. Unfortunately, this identification seems to be off the mark. In this short article, I propose to examine the question afresh with special reference to a *Nāgarī* inscription found thereon. This record had also been taken note of by Dr. Nāth, but its invaluable evidence having a bearing on the positive or categorical determination of the nature of the building in question seems to have eluded him because he found the major portion of the record unintelligible.[2]

The epigraph in question is an extremely important record as it designates the building, the construction of which it seeks to commemorate. Its language is local dialect or rather Hindī, and the writing, which is in *Nāgarī* characters, is too fairly legible to defy decipherment. Therefore, one really fails to understand how the contents of this epigraph could not be made known since V. S. 1981 (A.D. 1927-28), when the record came, evidently for the first time, to the notice of the officers of the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Gwalior State who listed it in their annual report.[3] The inscription was therein stated to be a record of 4 lines in Hindī in *Nāgarī* dated V. S. 1586 (A.D. 1529), mentioning one Sahagajīta.[4] The same information was repeated in a Hindī work enlisting inscriptions from the Gwalior State.[5] When the State merged with the Indian Union, the impressions of the epigraphs stored in the State Archaeological Department including that of the record under notice were transferred to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who listed it in his annual report. According to him too, surprisingly, the purport of the record was not clear.[6] As a matter of fact, the inscription is fairly, and at least its historical portion almost completely legible.

It is equally surprising and unexplicable too that Major-General Arthur Cunningham who described the monuments of Gwalior including the Fort and its

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buildings at some length does not mention the Assī Khambhā building at all.[7] Even the old *Gwalior State Gazetteer* and other modern works on the subject have nothing to say about it.[8]

The structure known as Assī Khambhā comprises a large pillared hall with an imposing half-domed portal in the typical Mughal style on its north, a small pillared pavilion on its west and a double-storeyed circular step-well on its south. The building is rectangularish; the larger side, running north-south has nine aisles, each seven bays deep, forming sixtythree square bays in all, roofed by flat ceilings. The western porch is reported to have disappeared.[9]

According to Dr. Nāth, the close proximity of the building to the Mān-Mandir (Palace of Raja Man Singh Tomar), the stone used in its construction which is similar in his other buildings,[10] the design of the ceilings and the forms of the columns used in the hall, the adjoining *bāolī* and the pavilion adequately show that the building owes its origin to the Rājā. Dr. Nāth also surmised that very likely, it was built to be used as an Assembly Hall where, probably, the great conference of musicians was held under the Rājā and the famous work on music *Mān-Kulūhal* was composed. He further thought it possible that it is the same building which Nārāyan Dās alluded to as the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Rājā in the *Chhitai-charit*. He concludes his thesis by saying that an administrative building of the type of Dīwān-i-Ām was the need of his regime and it is quite probable that while he built numerous other structures, an official building was also included in his architectural projects.[11] In short, according to Dr. Nāth, the building, used as the Dīwān-i-Ām by Rājā Mān Singh Tomar, was a fore-runner of the typical Mughal Dīwān-i-Ām.[12] On the basis of the *Nāgarī* inscription referred to above in which Raḥīm Dād, an official of Mughal emperor Bābur finds mention, Dr. Nāth thought that the structure which was originally built by Rājā Mān Singh as an Assembly Hall was first adopted by Raḥīm Dād who added the portal to it.[13] The presence of a Persian inscription 'recording the construction of a public building' by Yār Muḥammad in A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531) during the time of Humāyūn, prompted Dr. Nāth to suggest that the building was used as a house of prayer and also as a hall where he (i.e. Humāyūn) held his *durbar*, heard petitions and dispensed justice.[14]

The above thesis raises a number of points which require convincing answers. Here we shall confine ourselves to the question of the identification of the building in the light of the *Nāgarī* inscription of Bābur mentioning Raḥīm Dād. But we may perhaps be excused if we point out *en passant* a couple of mis-statements in the above exposition. It is not correct to say that no building in the Gwalior fort bears an epigraph of Rājā Mān Singh Tomar. In fact, recently, the Gujarī-Maḥal there is found to have what has been deciphered as an inscription of the Rājā.[15] Likewise, the inscription of the time of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn does not record the construction of a public place—this partly forms the basis of the identification of the structure or its use as a Dīwān-i-Ām or Hall of Public Audience where Humāyūn used to hold his *durbār* and dispense justice—but it refers to the construction of a shop.[16] The word *Dukān* meaning 'shop' is also quite clear in the photo-reproduction of the inscription in

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Dr. Nāth's article.[17] There is an arched niche in the western wall of the above mentioned portal, which, according to Dr. Nāth, is in the centre of the wall and has a correct orientation towards Mecca, and therefore he argues that this place was used as a mosque. The Muslim garrison he further adds, needed a mosque and there being no other mosque in the fort when Bābur's official Raḥim Dād took possession of it from Tātār Khān Sārang Khāni, this (i.e. the Assī Khambhā) with the portal containing the *miḥrāb* fulfilled the need adequately well.[18] In other words, Dr. Nāth would have us believe that the structure was used as a Dīwān-i-Ām and also as a mosque for offering prayers.

Now let us see what the epigraph itself says. The tablet is fixed into the western wall near the said arched niche. Dr. Nāth has published a totally unsatisfactory reading of the epigraph, the major portion of which, he considers unintelligible. According to him, the inscription dated V.S. 1586/A.D. 1529 mentions Bābur and also Raḥīm Dād.[19]

No doubt, the major portion of the text as read by him is unintelligible as is clear from the following reading of his :—

संवत् १५८६ वर्ष का . . .
बाबु (ब) (र) नृा (नृ) पति सहि (शह) गर्जा तके नज (?)
षाज (खाजा) ना (र) हीम हह (दाद) कमनहस ?
कनफुनाम (?) धी बिन अलह (अल्ला दाद) पनासनौ

A look at the facsimile (plate) will show that the *Nāgarī* characters are modern. The only somewhat archaic form is of the letter र swhich is transcribed with a horizontal stroke projecting to left, at right angle from the middle of the verticle stroke, like this : न. This from of र is met with in inscriptions. This is read as न by Dr. Nāth. Once this form of the letter र is borne in mind, the extant text becomes completely legible.

The crucial word in the text, now, is the last one in line 3, which is not understood, how Dr. Nāth could miss to read correctly. Apart from the third letter र, his reading ह of the second letter in this word द is more unexplicable, particularly since it is not like the letters ह used a little earlier in the same line and also in line 5, which have been correctly deciphered by him. The र following this द is read न by him. In other words, what has been doubtfully read by him as कमहनस is nothing but कमदरस . This word indicates the nature of the building constructed. Though to a layman, this word and portions of the text may appear without any meaning, the discerning scholars and students of the subject will easily recognise that the composer of the text has used archaic sort of language written without various *mātrās* etc., as was not an uncommon practice in those days at least in western India.[20] 'कमदरस' is how the composer wrote 'का मदर सा' like.

A correct reading of the record is given below (plate). The slab seems to have been damaged and a few words are lost in the first and the fourth line. There is what looks like a blank panel after the third line; there does not appear to have been any writing therein.

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(1) संवतु १५८६ ब्रष का . . . .
(2) वावु रु[21] पतिसहि गजी तके रज
(3) पो (खो) ज राहीम दद क मदरस
(4) क रफराम[22] घी अलहदद
(5) षर (वानी[23] ?) . . . . .

This in its literary form would read like this :

संवतु १५८६ वर्षे का . . . . . बाबुरु पतिसाहि गाजी तके राजे पोजा (ख्वाजा) रहीम दाद का मदरसा करफुराम (कारफर्मा ?) घा० अलाह दाद षर [वानी ?] . . . . . .

In the year (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1586 Kā.....during the reign of Bābur Pāts(h)āh Ghāzi, Kho (wā) ja Raḥīm Dād's *madrasa* (was built), (under) the superintendence (?) of ... Alāh Dād Shar (wānī ?) .....

Thus, according to the epigraph, Raḥim Dād had built a Madrasa or a College in V.S. 1586 (A.D. 1528) during the reign of Bābur. It may be argued that the text does not contain the words explicitly mentioning its construction by Raḥīm Dād, but speaks of the building as 'of Raḥim Dād' and therefore, it could have been a building constructed earlier by somebody else put to this use by him. But there should be little doubt that the Madrasa (College) was built by Raḥīm Dād. For, the Mughal emperor Bābur himself speaks of 'paying a visit to the college Raḥīm Dād had made' in the Gwalior fort on the 26th September 1528, the next day of his arrival at Gwalior.[24] Dr. Nāth has also referred to Bābur's visit to Raḥīm Dād's College[25] and this should have alerted him to look up Raḥīm Dād's inscription more carefully. In other words, the building now known as Assī Khambhā (whom Dr. Nāth has, to my mind unnecessarily, rechristened as Chaurasi Khambha) is the Madrasa or College of Raḥim Dād.[26] It was not intended as a Diwān-i-Ām as suggested by him. As to a portion of it being used as a place of prayers, having not seen the monument itself, it is not possible for me to say if the arched niche stated to be in the centre of the western wall of the portal with a correct orientation is in the form of a prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*). But, then, it is not only very likely but may have been actually the case, as every college used to have a room or a hall earmarked as a place for prayers, as is the case even to-day. On the other hand, every large congregational mosque of the orthodox pattern having cells or cloisters enclosing the three sides of its open court accommodated a Madrasa or College, as is well known. But that in this case, a building was primarily constructed for the educational institution is specifically stated in the epigraph.

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1. Dr. R. Nāth, 'The Chaurasi-Khambha of the Gwalior Fort,' *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, vol. XVI, 1978 (Hoshiarpur 1978), pp. 99-103. Fig. 1, Plates I-V. It is not known why Dr. Nāth prefers to call the building Chaurāsī-Khambā, when it has been so far known, locally as well as in official accounts and records of the archaeological department of the erstwhile Gwalior State, as Assī-Khambhā. The main hall has eighty (*assī*) pillars, but Dr. Nāth (*ibid.*, p. 99, Fig. 1), adds two pillars each of the eastern and western porch, making a total of eightyfour (*Chaurāsī*) and calls the building Chaurāsī-Kambhā.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 101, f.n. 1.
3. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, for the years V.S. 1984/A.D. 1927-28 (Gwalior, no date), p. 28, No. 10.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Hariharnivās Dwivedī, *Gwālior Rājya-ke-Abhilekh* (Gwalior, V. S. 2004, A.D. 1947), p. 49, No. 371.
6. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961-62, No. C, 1490, which also referred to the last-mentioned two publications.
7. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, II (Simla, 1871, Reprint Delhi, Varanasi, 1972) pp. 330-96.
8. Captain C. E. Luard, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 220-41. However, it does illustrate (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, Bombay, 1908, p. 28) the Assīkhambha circular step-well also referred to by Dr- Nāth (*op. cit.*, p. 99, Fig. 1).
9. For a description of the building, see Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.
10. Dr. Nāth had just stated a few lines earlier (*ibid.*, p. 100) that no contemporary work of the Rājā has come down to us, nor do the buildings bear his epigraphs and therefore it is only their style which helps us to identify them. But here he speaks of 'his other buildings' without first convincingly showing them to be his.
11. *ibid.*
12. *ibid.*, p. 103.
13. This according to Dr. Nāth accounts for the substantial difference between the fabric of the hall and that of the portal (*ibid.*, p. 101).
14. *ibid.*, p. 102. Dr. Nāth does not specify the purpose for which it was used by Raḥīm Dād.
15. *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 125.
16. *ibid.*, 1969-70, No. D, 90.
17. Nāth, *op. cit.*, plate V, Line 4, fourth word from left.
18. *ibid.*, pp. 101-02. It may be noted that there was Muslim garrison in the fort even before Raḥīm Dād's occupation of the fort. There must have been a house of prayer for them. As a matter of fact, almost about the same time the tablet was set up, the Mughal emperor Bābur who paid a visit to the fort on 26th September 1528 mentions the jāmī mosque of Iltutmish near the large temple to the south of Raḥīm Dād's flower-garden (Bābur, *Bābur-Nāma*, Eng. translation, Annette Susanna Beveridge, London, 1922, Delhi Reprint, 1970), p. 610.
19. *ibid.*, p. 101.
20. For example, thus runs a story that a letter received by a person contained this sentence : अबप जमर गय छ which was intended to be बाप अजमेर गया छे (Father has gone to Ajmer). But a barely literate person to whom it was taken read it : बाप आज मरी गया छे (Father has expired to-day), creating a great misunderstanding.
21. व in this word stands for ब.
22. This word seems to be the engraver's or composer's way of writing कारफुरमा i.e. कारफर्मा (Superintendent of work).
23. This may be शरवानी or Sherwānī, a clan-name among the Afghāns. If so, Alāh Dād was a Sherwānī Afghān.
24. Bābur, *op. cit.*, p. 610. Moreover, as stated above, Alāh Dād's name appears in the text, almost certainly, as the superintendent of the work. This would naturally indicate construction-project seen through by him.
25. Nāth, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
26. For an account of the career of Raḥīm Dād, a paternal nephew of Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, husband of Bābur's sister, see Bābur, *op. cit.*, pp. 539, 540, 547, 607, 610, 613, 688-89 and 690. The reference by Mrs. Beveridge to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's mentioning him in his *Riḥla* (*ibid.*, p. 692, f.n. 1, p. 704, f.n. 2) seems to be a slip of pen, for it is impossible for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who flourished almost two centuries earlier to have mentioned Raḥīm Dād.

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2

More New Inscriptions from Muddesvari

RICHARD SALOMON

I. Introduction

The temple of Muṇḍeśvarī (or Maṇḍaleśvarī, as it is also known locally), situated on a hill near the village of Ramgarh in Bhabhua sub-division of Rohtas (formerly Shahabad) District, Bihar, is a major architectural and epigraphical site of eastern India. The remains of the temple and some of the many inscriptions occurring there have been described in various publications since the site was first noted by T. Bloch in 1902-3.[1] More recently, I have written a paper on "New Inscriptions from the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple,"[2] in which I described the inscriptions found on my first visit to the site in 1979.

In October 1980, I had the opportunity to revisit Muṇḍeśvarī, at which time I was able to survey the site in more detail.[3] At that time I located several dozen more short inscriptions in various scripts. Also, in March 1981, I visited the Patna Museum, where several more unpublished inscriptions from Muṇḍeśvarī in shell characters are kept. This new data will be described and summarized in the present paper.

II. Description of the Site

The inscriptions previously described by myself and other scholars probably[4] all came from the area around the temple itself atop the hill, and from the pathway leading up to it on the south side of the hill. In my previous paper, I described two Brāhmī pilgrims' records, 74 inscriptions in shell characters or '*śaṅkhalipi*,' and 12 "Ornate Brāhmi" inscriptions from this area, which I designate here as 'site A.' In my second visit, I found here 15 more inscriptions in *śaṅkhalipi*, 4 in Ornate Brāhmī, and 6 in Brāhmī; these will be further described in this Article.

Furthermore, in the course of my second visit, three more groups of inscriptions were discovered on different parts of the hill. The first of these, site B, is a large flat rock outcropping on the west side of the hill, about three-quarters of the way up, overlooking the plain below. This place can be reached by climbing the main pathway to the foot of the modern reconstructed stairway leading up the final ascent, and following from there a rough path leading off to the left for a few hundred yards. The inscriptions at site B are in two sub-groups, one on a triangular rock on the inner portion of the outcropping, the other on a large flat rock farther out on the outcropping. Altogether at

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site B, there are 9 inscriptions in shell characters, 14 in Ornate Brāhmī, and a few fragments and graffiti in standard Brāhmī.

Site C is another rock outcropping on the northwestern side of the hill, not far below the peak. It consists of several large boulders lying one atop the other; many of the inscriptions here are hidden in crevices and gaps between these rocks, and can therefore be seen and copied only with difficulty. The place is located in thick jungle, and to my knowledge has not been previously noticed; it was pointed out to me by some local men who graze their flocks on the hill. This site can be reached by descending into the bush from the hill-top in front of the temple. There is no discernible path to it. Here, in addition to 6 *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions and 2 in Ornate Brāhmī, are several interesting graffiti in standard and decorative forms of Brāhmī, some of which will be further described below.

Site D is also located amidst dense jungle on the hill's northern side, somewhat further down than the preceding 2 sites. Like the preceding site, I was led to site D by local herdsmen. At this place I saw 12 *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions carved on a series of rocks, many of them hidden in the bush. There is a rough path along these rocks, and it appears that this was once part of a second stairway, now almost completely destroyed, which led up the hill on the north side.

Finally, 6 flat stone slabs from Muṇḍeśvarī are kept in a storage godown in the Patna Museum. These contain 9 inscriptions in *śaṅkhalipi*, most of which are fragmentary. These almost certainly came from site A, where most of the inscriptions are written on similar stone slabs which originally were fixed in the stairway to be trod upon by pilgrims climbing the hill.[5]

III. The Inscriptions

[In this section only a selection of particularly interesting or important inscriptions are described. Due to limitations of space, many other less significant and incomplete records are left unmentioned.]

A. Brāhmī Inscriptions

Several new pilgrims' records in Brāhmī were found on and around the temple itself. Pl. 1 shows to such records, which are inscribed on a slab fixed in the ground directly behind the temple. Of the two, the upper inscription is clearly preserved, reading :

śilākūṭacandra [*ḥ**] *praṇamati*

"Śilākūṭacandra bows in homage."[6]

Another inscription close by the preceding one (pl. 2) reads :

hi (*hī*) *rasu* (*sū*) [*t*] *tradhāra*

also a pilgrim's name. On paleographical grounds, I would be inclined to attribute these records to about the late 6th or early 7th century A.D.

In addition to these, there are some similar pilgrims' records carved into the end of the *vedi-bandha* immediately to the (proper) right of the temple door. There are also

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a few similar brief Brāhmī inscriptions of about the same period at site B. Again at site C there are some more such minor graffiti. More interesting are the pilgrims' records (pl. 3) in a peculiar and idiosyncratic form of decorative Brāhmī, reading :

śrīślokacaukṣaḥ

This name is repeated 4 times on different parts of the rock; and a fragment of the same inscription was also found at site B. What is particularly interesting about this record, however, is that it is the same name, in the same peculiar hand, that was discovered by Dr. Sircar on a rock at Sondhia in Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh, and published by him in *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIV (1961-62), p. 248 and Plate II. According to Dr. Sircar, Ślokacaukṣa (which he describes as "a rather peculiar name") may have been a pilgrim from the Tamil-speaking region, on the grounds of the similarity of *ś* in the inscription to the early Grantha form of that letter. He also notes that the elaborate curled flourishes of the medial vowel signs "remind us of similar signs in the records written in the so-called shell-characters." Dr. Sircar dates of the record to "about the seventh century A.D."

Regardless of where he may have come from, it is clear that it must have been the same Ślokacaukṣa who in the course of his pilgrimages visited both Sondhia and Muṇḍeśvarī, some 125 miles to the east, and recorded his name at both places. This is a point of interest as, to the best of my knowledge, no similar epigraphic documentation of a particular pilgrim's travels has been previously noticed.

As for the unusual script of these records, I am inclined to see it as a personal or idiosyncratic style of Brāhmī, since no other examples of it are extant. It should be emphasized, however, that despite a superficial similarity to *śaṅkhalipi*, noted above, such elaborate varieties of Brāhmī (several of which were current in the Gupta and post-Gupta period) should not be confused with the *śaṅkhalipi* and Ornate Brāhmī scripts proper, as described below. The latter two, although they are certainly derived from Brāhmī, must be considered as distinct and separate scripts from the parent. The principal similarities between the various decorative forms of Brāhmī and these two ornate scripts consist of such superficial features as the flourishes in the vowel signs; the actual forms of the consonantal characters in the latter, however, are so different from those of Brāhmī proper that they must be treated separately.

B. Shell Character (śaṅkhalipi) Inscriptions

The majority of the pilgrims' record inscriptions at Muṇḍeśvarī are written in the highly calligraphic and enigmatic "shell characters" or *śaṅkhalipi* which was current over most of India, and especially common in Bihar, in about the 5th to 8th centuries A.D.[7] In addition to the 74 shell character inscriptions described in my previous paper, 51 more such records were found in my second visit to the site and at the Patna Museum. As is generally the case with such inscriptions, many of these are badly worn and/or fragmentary. Here again, I will discuss only a few selected specimens of particular interest.

Among the 15 new *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions which were found along the pathway at site A, the one illustrated in pl. 4 is particularly clearly written and well preserved.

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While it is not yet possible to give readings of *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions with any certainty, the following is offered by way of a tentative suggestion :

mahāgṛhyaśruti

The first two characters of this inscription are a sequence which recurs with notable frequency at the beginning of many shell character inscriptions (cf. my remarks on fig. 10 of "New Inscriptions from the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple"). I have provisionally identified this disyllabic element as *mahā*. The first letter, consisting of a circular or elliptical shape with a pronounced triangular head (in this specimen slightly damaged) may have developed as a cursive, rounded form from Brāhmī *ma*.[8] The second letter can be seen as a similar cursive derivative from *ha*; while the large wedge-shaped mark above it is presumably an *ā* vowel sign. The third letter resembles Brāhmī *ga*, with an extended subscript which I take to represent the vowel *ṛ*. The following *akṣara* is the same as the second, read as *ha*, with a subscript which looks like the tripartite form of Brāhmī *ya*; hence the syllable is read as *hya*. The fifth syllable resembles the third, which was read as *ga*, but it has a horizontal bar connecting the two vertical members, calling to mind Brāhmī *ś*.[9] The curved vertical line below may be taken as a subscript *r*, and the bent wedge attached to its right as the vowel *u*; thus the *akṣara* is read as *śru*. Finally, the last syllable looks like Brāhmī *ta*, with a diagonal vowel sign above which may be read as *i*.

If these identifications are acceptable, the inscription may be understood as recording the name of a pilgrim Mahāgṛhyaśruti. Needless to say, however, the reading is by no means certain, given the present incomplete state of our understanding of the shell script.

Among the 9 *śaṅkhalipi* records at site B, one (pl. 5) is notable for its monumental size and fine execution. The inscription is written across the middle of the triangular rock at the inner side of the outcropping. It consists of 6 characters (of which the second and third are partly damaged), each about one foot high; the entire inscription is 6 feet long and, including the large flourishes above and below the main line of writing, 5½ feet in height.[10]

(Several other smaller inscriptions in shell characters and Ornate Brāhmī are also visible in fig. 5; the latter will be further discussed below.)

Fig. 6 shows one of the 6 shell inscriptions found at Site C. This epigraph consists of 5 characters in an unusual bulbous style of *śaṅkhalipi*. Both the style and the text of the inscription are very similar to those of inscription no. 23 at Kheri (Bhagalpur District, Bihar), which is illustrated in ***Shell Inscriptions***, pl. 6. The first 4 characters of the two inscriptions are the same letters (though some are written in a slightly different shape). The fifth *akṣaras* are different, and only the Kheri inscription has a sixth. In view of the similarities of text and form, it is possible that here again, as in the case of the Ślokacaukṣa inscriptions, we have a case of a pilgrim's name duplicated at different sites. The discrepancy at the end of the inscriptions may be ascribed to variant forms of the same name, not an uncommon practice in Sanskrit (as for instance, the same person may be referred to as Maheśa or Maheśvara).

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The shell inscription reproduced in pl. 7 is one of the 6 slabs probably brought from site A at Muṇḍeśvarī (as explained above) and now kept in the Patna Museum. The inscription is clearly preserved but incomplete; the last 5 letters are fully visible, and part of the preceding syllable remains. This is a good example of a typical shell character style, without the idiosyncratic forms of the two preceding inscriptions. Below the main inscription are also some fragments of a second shell inscription.

C. Ornate Brāhmī Inscriptions

"Ornate Brāhmī" is the term I have used elsewhere[11] to designate a peculiar epigraphic script characterized by heavily incised, squared-off shapes and elaborate curved flourishes. This script appears to have been in use at about the same time and in the same region as *śaṅkhalipi*, and was like it a decorative, calligraphic offshoot of Brāhmī which developed into a distinct script.

At Muṇḍeśvarī, as is very often the case, pilgrims' records in Ornate Brāhmī are found closely intermingled with those in *śaṅkhalipi*. In addition to the 12 previously known from Muṇḍeśvarī,[12] 20 more specimens of this script were found on my second visit. Of these, 14 were at site B, several of which are visible in fig. 5. Two of them appear in the right and left foreground, while another is at the top center, perpendicular to the large shell character inscription. Two of the characters of this latter Ornate Brāhmī inscription are capped by elongated triangular shapes, which presumably represent stylized vowel signs. Several other fragmentary inscriptions of this type are scattered around the rock.

IV. Conclusion

Muṇḍeśvarī is an important and highly unusual source of pilgrims' records and other inscriptions in various scripts. In particular, Muṇḍeśvarī is by far the most abundant single site for inscriptions in *śaṅkhalipi* and Ornate Brāhmī, yielding a total of 125 and 32 specimens respectively of these scripts.[13] This profusion of inscriptions of several types indicates that Muṇḍeśvarī must have been one of the major temples and pilgrimage centers of eastern India in the later Gupta and post-Gupta eras.[14]

REFERENCES

1. See T. Bloch in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1902-03*, pp. 42-43; *ibid.* (Eastern Circle) 1904, pp. 9-10; Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Temple of Muṇḍeśvarī in Shahabad," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* XLIV (1958), pp. 14-21. The well-known Sanskrit inscription from Muṇḍeśvarī has been published by R.D. Banerjee in *Epigraphia Indica* IX (1907-08), pp. 289-90 and by N. G. Majumdar in *Indian Antiquary* XLIX (1920), pp. 21-29. This inscription was also discussed in several papers delivered at the recent conference on "Epigraphy : Its Bearing on Art History" sponsored by the American Institute of Indian Studies at Varanasi. Finally, some short inscriptions on a pillar from Muṇḍeśvarī, now kept in the Patna Museum, were published by Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* LVII (1971), pp. 87-88 and plates XX-XXI. See my paper (cited below in note 2)for further bibliographical details.
2. Forthcoming in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*.

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3. Both of my visits to Muṇḍeśvarī were made possible by the generous support of the American Institute of Indian Studies, which I hereby gratefully acknowledge. Thanks are also due to Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta of Varanasi, Prof. Michael Meister of the University of Pennsylvania, and Shri Umesh Chandra Dwivedi of the Patna Museum, all of whom provided me with important information and valuable assistance in connection with Muṇḍeśvarī.
4. The exact original locations of the large Sanskrit inscription and the inscribed pillar published by Sinha (see note 1) are not available.
5. This practice, which presumably was felt to increase the merit of the pilgrim who left his record in such a position, has been noted at several other shell inscription sites, notably Kheri and Salihundam; cf. *Shell Inscriptions* (cited in note 7) pp. 9, 15. (Another such site, not yet published, has recently been found at Gerua in Singhbhum District, Bihar.) Dr. Sircar has pointed out to me that this custom has its modern parallel in the common practice of fixing stone slabs recording donations and contributions in the floors of temple courtyards.
6. The common pilgrim's record formula of "*X praṇamati*" was also seen in several of the Muṇḍeśvarī inscriptions previously published by Sinha and myself (see notes 1 and 2).
7. For detailed information on *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions, see the following publications by this author: *Shell Inscriptions* (Calcutta University, 1980; reprint of Preliminary Report on the Shell Inscriptions," originally published as Supplement to *Journal of Ancient Indian History* XI and XII, 1977-78 and 1978-79); "Progress Toward Decipherment of the Shell Inscriptions," forthcoming in *Brahmavidyā* (*The Adyar Library Bulletin*); "Shell Character Inscription on a Seal from Rajghat (Varanasi)," *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* VII, 1980, pp. 6-7; and "Undeciphered Scripts of South Asia," in forthcoming *Studies in Indology* (S. K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume). Also see "New Inscriptions from the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple," cited above in note 2.
8. For a more detailed discussion of the process by which *śaṅkhalipi* characters can be derived from Brāhmī, see "Progress Toward Decipherment of the Shell Inscriptions" (cited in note 7), Section II. However, it must be noted that some of the specific derivations proposed there will not agree with what is offered here, as I have had to change my opinion on several points on the basis of new materials discovered since that paper was written.
9. It would also be possible to take this letter as *bha*.
10. Shell character inscriptions of monumental proportions have also been discovered at other sites, most notably at Udayagiri (Vidisha District, Madhya Pradesh); see *Shell Inscriptions*, p. 12.
11. For further discussions of this script see *Shell Inscriptions*, p. 47; "Progress Toward Decipherment of the Shell Inscriptions," Section II; and "Undeciphered Scripts of South Asia," Part 2.
12. See "New Inscriptions from the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple," figs. 5 and 6.
13. Other sites at which large numbers of *śaṅkhalipi* inscriptions were found include Junagadh (80 inscriptions; *Shell Inscriptions*, pp. 4-6), Rajgir (52 inscriptions; *Shell Inscriptions*, pp. 6-9), and Ahmedgarh ki Pahadia (Vidisha District, Madhya Pradesh; 46 inscriptions, not yet published). All in all, I have collected to date 630 specimens of *śaṅkhalipi* from 64 different sites.
14. I have suggested to the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, that a complete survey of Muṇḍeśvarī be undertaken, and have been assured that this will be done in the near future.

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3

On Brajanatha Simha of Assam

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

Brajanāth Simha[1] was a great grandson of the Ahom king *Swargadeva* Rajeśvara Simha (1751-1769) and the father of *Swargadeva* Purandara Simha (1818-19 and 1832-38), the last Ahom king. It is a common belief among some regional historians that Brajanātha Simha ruled as King briefly in Assam during 1818-1819. The period of his brief rule is taken to be about three months.[2] This supposed kingship of Brajanātha Simha is evident from the large number of gold, silver and copper coins of the king.[3]

It is to be noted, however, against this view that Brajanātha actually never ruled Assam or any part of it as a fullfledged Ahom sovereign. The Assamese Chronicles do not use for him *Swargadeva*, the distinctive regal title of the Ahom rulers. But Brajanātha, himself has used this title on all his full Mohurs and Rupees.[4] Together with the use of this title, the right of minting was vested in the Ahom sovereigns of Assam. Thus the coins of Brajanātha together with his use of the title *swargadeva* have influenced scholars from time to time to suggest that this prince did rule briefly as an independent sovereign monarch.[5]

This, however, is not the case. Brajanātha never ruled as an independent sovereign monarch. Brajanātha, being a prince of the ruling family of Assam staked his claim for the throne. According to Hamilton,[6] Brajanātha was staying at Silmari in Bengal and was trying therefrom to secure assistance of the East India Company to secure the Ahom throne. The Company, however, did not come forward to help him.

Later, the political developments at the court of *Swargadeva* Chandrakānta Simha (1810-1818) provided an opportunity to Brajanātha to commānd the political scene in Assam. Towards the end of A.D. 1816, Badanachandra, a former officer of King Chandrakānta, attacked Assam, with the help of the Burmese, to settle old scores with the Burāgohāin or the prime minister. Purṇānanda Burāgohāin being defeated at Ghilādhari killed himself. His son Ruchinātha was appointed as his successor. Ahoms were again defeated at Kathalbari. The new Burāgohāin flew to Gauhati fearing that the king might sacrifice him to win over the favour of Badanachandra and his allies. The victorious Burmese ultimately occupied Jorhat.[7]

Badanachandra and his Burmese friends retained Chandrakānta Simha as the nominal king of Assam. The king reappointed Badanachandra as Bar Phukan. Badana-

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chandra, thus becoming all powerful, slaughtered all relations and followers of the Burā-gohāin. The Burmese returned home in April 1817. After sometime the relations between Badanachandra Bar Phukan and the Bar Barua became strained. Consequently two assassins Rūpa Simha Subādār and Rahmān Khān Jamādār killed Badanachandra at the instance of the king's mother and nobles favouring Bar Barua. The king now invited Ruchinātha Burāgohāin to come to Jorhat and look after the state. But Ruchinātha could not forgive the king and decided to replace him. It was with this view in mind that he invited Brajanātha, from Silmari to contest for the Ahom throne.[8]

According to the *Tungkhungia Buranji*, Chandrakānta's refusal to escape to Gauhati and his subsequent peace with Badanachandra and the Burmese were taken as moves of the king against him and his family by Ruchinātha. Consequently, he decided to avenge the humiliation and the death of his relatives and followers.[9] Hence he invited Brajanātha Gohāin, son of Bijoy Burmura, grandson of Ratneśvara Saru-gohāin, and great grandson of Rajeśvara Simha, to install him on the Ahom throne. Brajanātha aspiring for kingship since 1809, took up the invitation and reached Gauhati.[10] Here a native sepoy was dressed up as a 'Firinghee Captain' to win more recruits and to impress upon the people that he was having the support of the British. Ruchinātha and Brajanātha then marched against Chandrakānta who escaped to Rangpur and his army under Luke Dekāphukan was defeated. The victorious army entered Jorhat on 17th February 1818. Chandrakānta was imprisoned, brought to Jorhat, deposed and banished to Tartali. Ruchinātha and others hesitated to install Brajanātha, as he had earlier suffered mutilation of one of his ears.[11] His ten year old son Purandara, was therefore brought from Silmari and was made king.[12] It is also said in this connection that Brajanātha had already struck coins in his name bearing the dates 1739 and 1740 *Śaka* 'in anticipation of his kingship'. As *Yuvarāja* of his minor son, Brajanātha virtually ruled as a sovereign.[13] Some other Buranjis also contain a similar account of Purandara Simha's coming to power. According to another Chronicle, the sons of Purṇānanda, after the death of Badanachandra, decided to install Purandara Gohāin, son of Brajanātha Kownr, as they thought that king Chandrakānta's attitude was hostile towards them and their interests. Brajanātha, accepting their proposal came with an army to Mahgarh-ghat, and was joined by several Ahom officers. The victorious army finally came and occupied Jorhat. It is said that the allies made Purandara *Yuvarāja* but it was objected to by Brajanātha and hence he was installed as *Mahārāja*. Chandrakānta was deposed, and sent to Tartali after cutting off his ear.[14] Brajanātha was made *Yuvarāja*.[15]

Yet another Chronicle states that sometime after the assassination of Badanachandra, Ruchinātha Burāgohāin dispatched his brother Jagannātha Dhekiāl Phukan to Calcutta to seek British help against the Burmese. The British declined to interfere in the matters of a different country. Brajanātha, however, joined Dhekiāl Phukan and came to Gauhati with a force of mercenary soldiers. At Gauhati, they dressed up a native soldier as a British Officer to indicate to the people that the British were supporting them. Thereafter, Brajanātha and Dhekiāl Phukan marched on to Jorhat, where Purandara was declared king.[16]

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Kasinath Tamuli Phukan's Buranji shows that after the defeat of Chandrakānta, Purandara was first installed as *yuvarāja* and then after Chandrakānta's deposition, as king. According to this Buranji also, the change in Ahom kingship was effected by Jagannātha and Brajanātha. Purandara Simha assumed kingship on 11th Phalgun, 1739 *Śaka* and was forced by the invading Burmese General Alungmingi on 24th Phalgun, 1740 *Śaka* to escape to Bengal, in the British territories.[17] Purandara Simha's first kingship lasted only for one year and 14 days.

Thus there is nothing in these Chronicles to suggest even a temporary kingship of Brajanātha Simha: The *Ahom Buranji* shows that as early as A.D. 1816 Ruchinātha Burā-gohāin, his brother and many other officers had decided to take Purandara as their king.[18] Thus it seems more plausible to hold that Brajanātha when invited to contest for the kingship started issuing coins immediately in Bengal[19] in anticipation of his future kingship. He continued perhaps to strike coins in his name, taking advantage of the minority of his son *Swaragadeva* Purandara Simha, even though he was not the sovereign. Since he was *yuvarāja* and possibly ruled as regent of his son with full powers hence nobody dared question the legality of his action. Coins of Purandara Simha are not known. Probably he did not issue any as his father himself was coining in his own name during his first kingship.[20]

REFERENCES

1. Also known as Brajanātha Gohāin or Gohāindeva.
2. Stapleton, H. E., *JASB*, *NS*, No. XLVI (Vol. II) 1935-36, pp. 130-31; *JAIH*, Vol. VI, 1-2, p. 126-27; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1967, pp. 71-72.
3. Infact Brajanātha is the only one among the Ahoms to have issued copper coins.
4. Botham, *CPCCA*, pp. 520-21; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 307; Allan, *N. C.*, IX (1909). cf also J.P. Singh, *Research Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, B.H.U., No. 1 (1978), pp. 53ff.
5. It is interesting to note that this mistake about the Kingship of Brajanātha has been committed only by Stapleton and following him by A. N. Lahiri, Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Roy. Historians on the contrary followed Buranjis and have therefore maintained the correct position.
6. Francis Hamilton, *An Account of Assam*, p. 10.
7. E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, pp. 231-32.
8. *Ibid*, p. 232.
9. It is also sometimes suggested that king Chandrakānta wanted to remove Burāgohāin from power and is known to have secretly written to Badanachandra to secure help for the purpose. Cf. S.N. Sen, *Prāchīna Bānglā Patra Sankalana* (Calcutta University, 1942), pp. 170-72.
10. He is again stated to have tried to secure the help of the Governor General after this invitation but failed.
11. Among the Ahoms only able bodied princes were installed as kings. Ruling kings, therefore, used to disqualify their rivals by mutilating one of the parts of their body.
12. *Tungkhungiā Buranji* (London, 1933), pp. 205-06.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
14. A part of his right ear was sliced off. Cf. P. Gogoi, *The Tai and the Tai kingdoms* (Gauhati University, 1968), p. 539. Cf. also *Asamar Padya Buranji*, p. 145. Also see the Sixth Buranji in *Satsari Asam Buranji* (Gauhati University, 1974), p. 193, for a brief account of Purandara's coming to power.
15. *Asmar Padya Buranji*, pp. 142ff.

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16. Cf. *Biśveśvara Baidyādhipa's Buranji in Asamar Padya Buranji*, pp. 240ff. Cf. also The *Ahom Buranji* (Trs. G. C. Barua), pp. 382-83.
17. *Asom Buranji Sāra* (Gauhati, 1964), pp. 54-56; cf. also *Assam Buranji* by Harakanta Barua Sadaramin (Gauhati, 1962), pp. 88-90.
18. *Ahom Buranji* (Trs. by G. C. Barua), pp. 382-83.
19. Cf. *Research Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, BHU, No. 1, pp. 53ff.
20. The second kingship of Purandara Simha from 1832 to 1838 was under the authority of the East India Company and he may not have been allowed to mint during this period. He was to pay Rs. 50,000 annually to the Company. His failure to pay the amount ultimately led to the annexation of his territories by the Company.

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4

The Tekkalakota Inscription of Brahmadhiraja, Saka 943

N. NANJUNDASWAMY

The inscription re-edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, is engraved on a boulder in the field of Shri Bhimappa at Tekkalakōṭa, Siruguppa Taluk, Bellary District, Karnataka. This epigraph was first brought to light and edited by Shri M.S. Nagaraja Rao and Shri K.C. Malhotra in Deccan College Building and Silver Jubilee series No. 31, under the caption "The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalakota" in the year 1965. The inscription was copied by me in the course of my epigraphical Survey of Siruguppa Taluk in March 1978 and it is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1977-78 as B. 177. Since I differ from some of the interpretations made by the earlier editors the record is being reedited here.

The inscription contains 8 lines of writing. The inscribed surface measures about 214 cms in length and 64 cms in breadth. It is written in Kannaḍa language and characters of the 11th Century A.D.

The date of the inscription is Śaka 943, Raudri, Kārttika śuddha 1, Thursday which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1020, October 20. The śaka year was current. The epigraph refers to the administration of an imperial officer Brahmādhirāja.

The inscription opens with the usual word *Svasti* followed by the date cited above. It records that during the administration of Brahmādhirāja over Pāpekallu, orders were issued to the *ūroḍeya* (village headman) of the place (Pāpekallu) regarding the annual payment of levy or cess on the cultivated land for three successive years by the cultivators as follows : In the first year, the farmers were asked to pay 10 *Vīsas* (*i.e.*, half a *paṇa*) of the produce per matter. In the second year at the rate of one *paṇa* and in the third year at the rate of two *paṇas* progressively. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the earlier editors had read a part of the text in line No. 8, as *mattargeṁbhattu vīsava* had interpreted that 80 *Vīsas* per *matter* had to be paid as levy by the cultivators during the first year. 80 *Vīsas* would actually amount to 4 *Paṇas* and would have no proportional relationship to the amounts levied in the subsequent two years. On the other hand the current reading of the passage is *mattarge pattu-vīsa*, which would mean that the cultivators had to pay a levy of 10 *Vīsas* per matter i.e., half a *Paṇa* in the first year and correspondingly the ratio increases 1 : 2 in the succeeding years.

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In the present epigraph Brahmādhirāja is highly eulogised and he is endowed with many titles such as *Samastarājyabha (ā) ra-nirūpita, mahā-sēnādhipati, patibratāchāryyaṁ, dushṭhamishṭura, Kuṭila-kauṭilya, Kshudravidrāvaṇaṁ, Vipramārttāṇḍaṁ Pratyaksha Chāṇakyaṁ, Parivāravajra-pañjaraṁ, Kalikāla Bṛihaspati, ghaṭegana gandhavāraṇaṁ, mahāprachaṇḍa daṇḍanāyakaṁ* and *ghaṭeyaṁkakāṛa.*

Shri M.S. Nagaraja Rao and Shri K.C. Malhotra have rightly identified the Chief Brahmādhirāja (*BKI.* I. 11 181, 1094) of the present inscription with his name sake figuring in the inscription from Hiremagolageri, Harapanahalli Taluk, Bellary-District, dated in Śaka 956 (A.D. 1034; Pub. in S.I.I. Vol. IX, part I, pp. 54 ff. Ins. No. 82). It is to be noted in this connection that some of the titles viz *mahāmātya padavī Virājamana-mānonnata-prabhumantrōtsāhaśaktitray asaṁpannarappa* and manneverggaḍe pallava. . . . of Hiremagalageri inscription are conspicuously absent in our record. At the time of Tekkalakota epigraph, Brahmādhirāja was only *mañā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka.* But we find that in the Hiremagalageri inscription he had become a *mahāmātya* under the Chāḷukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasiṁha II. This shows that within a span of fifteen years Brahmādhirāja gradually rose in honour and status.

The appearance of a Brahmādhirāja, endowed with high sounding titles of imperial officialdom, in these two Kannaḍa inscriptions from Karnataka is of some historical significance. It is well known that some generals of brahmaṇa extraction were honoured with the title of Brahmādhirāja and appointed to high offices of military responsibility by the imperial cholas. The Hiremagalagēri inscription as well as the epigraph under discussion belong to the first half of the 11th Century A.D., when the Chōḷas of Taṅjavūr were in the zenith of their power. During the same period Karnaṭaka was under the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa whose power was no less than that of the Chōḷas. The Hiremagalagēri inscription actually refers itself to the reign of Chāḷukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasiṁha II (A.D. 1015-1042) and mentions Jagadēkamalla Noḷamba-pallava, a Noḷambapallava Chieftain as ruling over parts of the Noḷamba pallava territories. A certain official named Pallava Brahmādhirāja was also mentioned in the same record. Since we know that in Karnataka, feudatories and officials followed the customs of adopting the titles and epithets of their masters, the full name of this official can be confidently stated as Pallavāditya Brahmādhirāja having one of the titles of Iṛiva-Noḷamba, who is obviously named in the Herimagelageri inscription as Jagadekamalla Noḷamba Pallava. We know from the Chōḷa inscriptions that Brahmādhirājas were highly revered generals. It is very likely that the Brahmādhirāja figuring in Hēremagalagēri and in Tekkalakōṭā epigraphs, was also a Chōḷa general who entered Noḷambavāḍi at the time of Chōḷa invasion and received Pāpekallu as fief, over which he administered. It is likely that even after the Chōḷa army had retreated from Noḷambavāḍi, Bramādhirāja continued his services under the Noḷamba Pallavas and hence continued to enjoy his fief Pāpekallu. In this connection we may refer to his interesting epithet *ghateghana gandhavāraṇa* occuring in the Tekkalakōṭā inscription Ghaṭega is obviously an abbreviation of *Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṛa,* an epithet borne by Iṛiva Noḷamba. It is thus obvious that Brahmādhirāja was a loyal official of Noḷamba Pallava in A.D. 1020, the date of our inscription.

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TEXT*

1. Svasti Śaka Varshaṁ 943 neya Raudri-saṁvtasarada / Kārttika śuddha pāḍiva
2. Bṛhaspativāradundu samastarājyabha (ā) ra-nirūpita mahāsēnādhipati /
3. Patibratāchāryyaṁ[1] / dushṭanishṭhuraṁ / kuṭila-Kauṭilyaṁ / kshudravidrā
4. vaṇaṁ / Vipramārttāṇḍaṁ[2] / pratyaksha Chāṇukyaṁ / parivāra-vajrapaṁjaraṁ /
5. kalikāla Bṛihaspati / ghaṭegana gandhavāraṇaṁ / śrīman-mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍā
6. nāyaka ghaṭeyaṁkakāṛa Brahmādhirājar Pāpekalla tṛibhōgābhyantara
7. siddhiyāḷuttaṁ Pāpekall-üroḍeyargge koṭṭa üḷkeya barisavaṭṭeya santeya kramam-eṁteṁdoḍe
8. ülta barisaṁ mattarge-[p] attu[3]-vīsava / meraḍaneya barisa voṁdu paṇa / mūṛeneya burisaṁ-eraḍu paṇaṁ /

REFERENCES

*From the impression.

1. M/S M.S. Nagaraja Rao and K.G. Malhotra read *Patihitāchāryya* (The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalkota, page No. 105).
2. They read, *ripumārttaṇḍaṁ* (*Ibid.*).
3. They read *eṁbhatta* for which there is no basis (*Ibid.*).

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5

An Adiyaman Inscription From Laddigam

M. D. SAMPATH

The record[1] edited here is engraved on the north wall of the *prākāra* in the Nīlakaṇṭēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam in Punganur Taluk in Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh.

It consists of seven lines of writing in all. The language of the record is Sanskrit except the last two lines which are in Tamil. Altogether there are three Sanskrit verses in Śārdūlavikṛḍita metre and two Tamil verses in Veṇbā metre. The record is comparatively free from mistakes. The charters of the Sanskrit portion are in Grantha while those of the Tamil portion are in Tamil, both assignable to the period of about the 12th century.

The inscription does not bear any date. But, it belongs to the reign period of the Adiyamāṉ chiefs who ruled from Dharmapuri (the ancient Tagaḍūr) in the Tamil country. It begins with the auspicious term *Svasti* followed by three verses (lines 1-5) in praise of the Adigaimāṉ chief. Verse 1 compares the fame and virtues of king Adhikēndra which glorified the entire world, with that of mount Mēru. It also praises him as the uprooter of the Pallavas.[2] The next verse describes him as one who had taken away the crest jewels of enemy kings with the same ease as the elephants could take away the *sāla* tree. In the same verse (verse 2) he is said to have protected the earth by bringing the enemies under his control (i.e., by taking away their white umbrellas) so quickly as the Rāhu eclipses the moon. The third verse describes him as an ornament to the Kēraḷavaṁśa and as *Vyāmukta-śravaṇ-ōjjvala.* Also it states that by hearing his victorious march, the enemies flew away and got destroyed in the way the serpents run away due to the fierce sound of the thunder and get annihilated. Thus this king is said to have earned great fame by his greatness in valour and by his virtues.

In the next section (Verse 1), he is introduced as an Adigaṇ of the Chēra family. Viḍugādaḷagiyāṉ is called Neḍumāl and a hero of Teṇ Tagadai (Verse 1). This verse also speaks of a bow which, resembling a mountain, was caused to be engraved (on the walls of the temple of Iruṅgōḷēśvara) by this chief signifying his victory over the north. In verse 2, he (Adigaṇ) is said to have established his truthful fame in the world by the art referred to above *i.e.*, by getting the bow emblem engraved on the (walls of) North Iruṅgōḷēśvara temple at Kōyāṟṟūr with the consent of the Iruṅgōḷa chief.

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Our record describes the Adigamāṇ chief as an ornament to the Kēraḷa family who had bow as their emblem. Kēraḷa is but a Sanskritised form of the '*Chēra*'. The inscriptions from Tirumalai[3] also refer to this fact. The engraving of this emblem is seen along with the record under discussion on the walls of the present Nīlakaṇṭēśvara temple (the same as the ancient Iruṅgōḷēśvara temple, perhaps named after the Iruṅgōḷa chief, the builder of this temple) at Laḍḍigam, following the fashion of three great Tamil kings, the Chēra, the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa who are stated to have engraved their emblems, respectively, of the bow, the fish and the tiger on the Himālayas.

Adigaṇ is an abbreviated form of Adigamāṇ. The Sanskrit name Adhikēndra also refers to the same chief. The chiefs of this family ruled from the ancient Tagaḍūr, modern Dharmapuri, as the feudatories of the Chōḷas. The word *Atiya* may be taken to be the Sanskritised form of the Tamil *Adiyaṉ*. An Adigaṇ is referred to in the Saṅgam Classics *Kuṟuntokai*[4] and *Ahanāṇūṟu*[5] as a subordinate of Paśumpūṭ, Pāṇḍiyaṇ. The Adiyamāṇ is also called Neḍumāṇ Añji or Añji or Eḷiṇi.[6] The celebrated poetess Auvaiyār, who was under the patronage of this chief, has brought out many of his abilities in *Puṟanāṇūṟu*.[7] The commentator of *Padiṟṟuppattu*[8] (Ten-tens) in Verse 32 has pointed out that Adiyamāṇ Neḍumāṇ Añji of Tagaḍūr was the name of a chieftain called Neḍumiḍal, whom the Chēra king Kaḷaṅgāyk-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍichchēral has defeated. Eḷini, the Adigaṇ is stated to have suffered the defeat in the hands of a Pāṇḍya king Neḍuncheḷiyaṇ.[9]

Viḍugādaḷagiya-perumāḷ was the son of Vagaṇ or Rājarāja, who seems to have been a descendant of Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimāṇ, of the Chēra family.[10] Adiyama is a name occurring in the later period. He was a feudatory of the Chōḷa king who fought against the Hoysaḷa chief and got defeated.[11] This chief who bore the title Rājarāja Adiyamāṇ, figures as a donor in a record from Kambayanallūr[12] in Uttangarai Taluk of the present Dharmapuri District dated in the 22nd year (A.D. 1199-1200) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, identified with Kulōttuṅga III. He appears to have been a powerful chief with a large tract of country extending from Tagaḍai or Tagaḍūr (i.e., Dharmapuri), the capital of the Adiyamāṇ chiefs in the west, Pōlūr in the North Arcot District in the east and in the north as far upto Laḍḍigam in Punganur Taluk in Chittoor District.

While editing the two records of this chief Hultzsch[13] remarked "it may be assumed that the Pālāṟu formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri, the western one, while the southern Peṇṇāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagaḍūr". It is apparent that he was acting as a frontier guard of the Chōḷa dominions[14] on its north-western frontiers. The Gaṅga was perhaps the general of the Hoysaḷa whom the Adigamāṇ chiefs had to face along the frontiers. The records of this chief found engraved on the walls of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple do not record any donations made to this temple, but indicate that the area around Laḍḍigam was under his effective control.[15]

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TEXT[15]

[Metres-Sanskrit Verses 1-3 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita; Tamil verses 1-2 : Veṇbā]

1. Svasti śrī [ḥ*] Āyushmann=adhikēndra-mānanilaya tvat-kīrtti-dugdh-āmbudhau trailōkyam kala-pōta-pātram=akhilaṁ Mērur=guṇ-ānōkahaṁ (ham [/*] tat-kū-
2. ṭēshu kaṭāyatē pariluḍa (ṭha) n-mēgh-āvalī-pallavas=tatratyas=tanutē nirantara-miḷan-nir-yāmatām=Aryamā // [1 // *] Vīra-śrī-laḷit-ōpadhānam=ahita-kshmāpāla-chū-
3. ḍāmaṇi-śrēṇī-vāraṇa-vāraṇ-ākrama-vidhāv=āḷāna-sāla-drumaḥ [/ *] śaśvat-tē='dhika-māna-śatru-dhavaḷa-chchatr-ēndu-bimba-grahē Rāhur=bāhur=asaṁ (sa) hya-sāhasa-nidhir=ddhattā-
4. n=dharā-maṇḍalam // [2 // *] Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-vaṁśa-bhūshaṇam=iti khyātasya pṛithvī-patēr= Vyāmukta-śravaṇ-ōjjvalasya mahatō jaitrāsu yātrāsu cha [/ *] nis-sāṇ-ōddhata-bhīma-nādam= aśanim=ma-
5. tvā mahā-bhōginaś=śrīmantō=sya vipaksha-rāja-bhujagā bhītyā vināśaṁ gatāḥ // [3 // *] Chēraṇ= Adigaṇ Tiruneḍumāl Ten-Tagaḍai-vīraṇ Viḍugādaḷagiyāṇ pār-aḷan [du] [1*] cheṅ-
6. gōḍu pōlach-chilaiyai vaḍa-dikk-aḷavuṅ-kaṅgōḍa veṭṭiṇāṇ kal // [1 // *] Mēdiṇī niravē [ṇ] ḍil Viḍugādaḷagiyāṇ kōdil pugaḷtigaṇ Kōyāṟṟūr-ādi [/ *] vaḍav-Iru-
7. ṅgōḷīchchurattil vaitta śilai mārbil-iḍav-Iruṅgōḷa-maṇṇar=iśaindu // [2 // *]

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1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. B 547.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXHVI, pp. 135-36.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.
4. *Kuṟuntokai*, 393.
5. *Ahanāṇūṟu*, 162.
6. *Puṟanaṇūṟu*, verses 158, 230 and 392.
7. *Ibid.*, Verse 99, Also see verses 98 and 90.
8. *Padiṟṟuppattu*, verse 32.
9. *Ahanāṇūṟu*, 36; *Puṟanāṇūṟu*, 76.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332.
11. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 495
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 333
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.
14. Dr. M.D. Sampath : *Chittoor Through the Ages*, (1980), p. 96.
15. *Chittoor Through The Ages*, p. 97.
16. From photographs.

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6

A note on Halebid Inscription of Vira Ballala II, Mentioning Kalachurya Bijjala

MADHAV N. KATTI

The inscription under reference[1], which is in Kannaḍa language and characters is on a hero-stone and belongs to the reign of Hoysaḷa Vira Ballāḷa II and contains the details of date Śaka 1111 Saumya, Aśvayuja (mentioned as Aśvaija) Su. 5, [Saturday][2], corresponding to A.D. 1189, September 16. As the inscribed stone is built in to the ceiling of the temple of Durgāmbā (locally known as Uramma also), in the village of Haḷēbīḍ, Hassan District, a portion of the inscription is hidden in the built in part of the structure on account of which full text of the epigraph is not available, presently.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Vīra Ballāḷa, who is endowed with his usual titles and epithets like *Dvārāvatīpurava* [*rēśvara*], *Śanivāra-siddhi*, *giridurga-malla* etc. From the extant portion it is also possible to discern that he is also referred to as the ruler of Talakāḍu, Gaṅga-vāḍi, Noḷamba-vāḍi, Banavāse, Halasige etc. and was a devotee of Vāsantikādēvi. His family name Hoyaḷa also mentioned in the inscription.[3]

The first part of the record states that the king attacked [*Rāya*] *murāri*, *Kēśvava* and *Nārasiṅga* ([*Hoysaḷa*] *Vira Ballāḷa-dēvaru* [*Rāya*] *murāri-Kēśava Nārasiṅgana mēletti naḍadu-II* panel, lines 2 & 3) and caused the construction of a temple, evidently as a mark of victory over them. The second part of the record states that Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi who is endowed with the epithets like Herishchandra in speaking truth, Indra in enjoyment, Sahasrārjuna in valour (panel 14, line 3) etc. and who was the devotee of Lord Baḷḷēśvara, who was the *gaṇḍapeṇḍārada Sāhaṇi* of Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa [*nāmadi samasta-prasasti-sahitaṁ Śrimatu Kha* (*ka*) *ḷachurya Bhujabaḷa-chakravarti Bijjaladēvara gaṇḍa-peṇḍārada Chenna Kaḷama Sāhaṇi* (vide panel IV, lines 1-30] obviously retaliated by attacking the Hoysaḷa ruler in turn. In that context Chaṇḍeya, Kunnama Sāhaṇi and Māyyajayya are mentioned (*vide* the expression *mēgaṇageṛeya . . . biṭṭiralu . . tānu . . . tanikam naḍedu Souriyamalla . . . Sāhaṇi Chaṇḍeya Kunnama Sahani . . . Māyyajayyanu* etc., lines 3 to 5 of panel IV). There are also some more persons mentioned in all probability as the words like *Souriyamalla* and another *Sāhaṇi* indicate, but the details are lost.

Hoysaḷa Vira Ballāḷa is evidently the same Vīra Ballāḷa II who is already known to have ruled from A.D. 1173 to 1220.[4] This was a period when the Hoysaḷas, Kaḷachuryas

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and Sēuṇas were fighting for supremacy over one another.[5] It is brought to light for the first time through this record that Vīraballāḷa II attacked Rāyamurāri, Kēśava and Nārasiṅga in the year 1189. Rāyamurāṅ is evidently the same as Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, son of Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa, and is known to have ruled from A.D. 1167 to 1176.[6] Nārasiṅga was perhaps the same as Narasiṁha who was a Chāḷukya general and is stated to have killed Saṅkama, son of Bijjaḷa.[7] He must have been in the service of Sōvideva (later) and participated in the present war along with him. An inscription from Gudadānvēri, Dharwar District[8] dated in the year 1183 refers to certain Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka as the younger brother of *Sēnādhipati Bāhattara-niyōgādhipati Mahā-prachaṇḍa Vāsudēva-daṇḍanāyaka.* It is possible that Kēśva of our record is the same as Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka of the Guḍadānvēri inscription.

From the nature of the inscription it is clear that the Kaḷachuryas did not take the defeat lying. Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi who was a loyal soldier of the Kaḷachuryas and a very valorous fighter repulsed the attack of the Hoysaḷas and pursued them back up to their capital (Haḷēbīḍ i.e. ancient Dōrasamudra) where the inscription has been found. This act in itself is no small a victory for the Kaḷachuryas. However, it is not known if he could succeed in inflicting a complete defeat on the Hoysaḷas. This appears to be one of the last attempts of the Kaḷachuryas to regain their glory, which however did not have any lasting effect. From the epigraph it is also not clear as to whether Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi and his entourage survived the battle or collapsed in it. As the ending portion of the extant text indicates Chaṇḍaya, Kunnama Sāhaṇi and Māyyajayya may have died in the battle and that in their memory the memorial stone was set up. But nothing more can be said to the present state of our knowledge (when the full text of the inscription is not available).

It is of a great historical significance that Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa is referred to as Bhujabaḷa-chakravarti in the record. It is a well known fact that he had relinquished the throne in favour of his son (Sēvidēva) but had remained as a force of strength from behind. There are various theories about the death of Bijjaḷa including the one that he died shortly after he ceased to be the ruler.[9] The present record makes it amply clear that he was alive atleast up to 1189, the date of this record and inspired from behind the screen those who were loyal to the Kaḷachurya family to re-establish the glory, in a way quite becoming of his stature *Bhujabaḷa-chakravarti*.[10] Chenna Kāḷama Sāhani was one of the last of such loyal soldiers who proved true to his salt in discharging his duties to his master. The inscription thus brings to light a number of facts of historical significance.

The expressions *peṇḍati-gaṇḍara gaṇḍapeṇḍāra . . . Bijjaladevara gaṇḍa-peṇḍarada Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi* indicate that Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi was a distinguished hero. *Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* is an ornament symbolic of his victory, heroism etc. Bijjaḷadēva must have honoured Chenna Kāḷama Sāhaṇi with a *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* (which appears to be the same as (*gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* a badge of honour).[11] *Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* is actually known to be a type of anklet. The expression may also mean that Chenna Kālama Sāhaṇi considered himself as an anklet of Bijjala *i.e.* as an obedient servant.

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1. The inscription was noticed by me for the first time when I was on an official tour of Hassan District in the year 1979 and was copied by Shri N.N. Swamy working with me subsequently. It is being noticed in *A.R. Ep* 1978-79, and the text being edited by us in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica.* I am thankful to Shri K.G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, A.S.I., for deputing me on the above tour.
2. The day is evidently Saturday (the letter being *Śa*).
3. It is already known that he had conquered Banavāsi etc. This inscription confirms the same P.B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka* (Dharwar 1970), p. 263.
4. P.B. Desai, *A History, op. cit.*, p. 303.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87 and S.H. Ritti, Presidential Address to the section on HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY & NUMISMATICS at the 41st session of the INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, BOMBAY, Dec. 1980., p. 14.
6. P.B. Desai, *Ibid.*, p. 217.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 349, p. 441.
9. P.B. Desai, *Basaveshvara and his times*, (Dharwar 1968), p. 106.
10. I have taken Bhujabaḷa-Chakravarti Bijjala as Bijjaḷa II (who is hitherto known upto A.D. 1167) and not Vīra-Bijjaḷa (i.e. Vīra Bijjaḷa III, son of Sōvideva) for the following reasons. It is known that while still alive, Bijjala II passed on the reigns of the kingdom to his son Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva. Only he was capable of inspiring his loyal followers to make efforts to re-establish the Kaḷachurya hegemony and the inscription provides one of such last instances. It is also clear that even Sōvidēva was active behind the scene because of his father's lively interest and participated in the war with the Hoysaḷas. Even the name *Bijjala* as mentioned in the inscription, indicates that the *l* in *la* is not cerebralized and this indicates the earlier usage-thus pointing to Bijjala II. The inscription mentions him as *Bijjala* and not *Vīra-Bijjala*, by which name Sōvideva's son was famous. That Bijjala II was alive even upto A.D. 12-2-1196 is known from other sources [*vide* B. Ramayya, *Basavēśvara Vachanālu-Samagra Samīkshā* (1st Edition 1976-77), p. 222].
11. F. Kittel, *Kannada English Dictionary* (Mangalore 1894), p. 523.

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7

Silver Punch-marked Coin from Jangambadi (Gaya)

R.L. VARMA

Jangambadi, the old religious centre of the Liṅgāyatas is situated about three hundred yards to the west of the well-known Viṣṇupāda temple and close to the south on Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple of Gaya. It is a very old site and the shrine of Ekādaśarudra is located there. Many *piṇḍa-vedis* of the Hindus are situated near the site and the shrines of Dhautapāda and Muṇḍapṛṣṭha are located on the top of the Karsalli hill situated very close to the south of Jangambadi. It is to be noted in this connection that Jangambadi is the oldest site in the Gaya town. Sherds of N.B.P. were with lusturous polish are found there. It is said that the hermitage of Gayākasyapa, a great deciple of Buddha, was located there and the place was visited by the Buddha. The ruins of old Buddhist shrines and structures are scattered on the slopes of the Karsalli hill and also at the place called Upardih located at a close distance to the east of Jangambadi. A beautiful image of Aparājitā of the Pāla period found from Upardih is now preserved in the Gaya Museum. The image is trampling with her left foot on the kneeling figure of Gaṇeśa.

Surprisingly enough the old shrine and the temple of Jangambadi of the Liṅgāyatas has been recently destroyed by the people of Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñchī for the construction of a Hotel called Sankaracarya Kama Koti Matha and the Archeological Departments at the Centre and the State are silent onlookers. The old stone pillars and brick walls of the temple of the Pāla period are still lying exposed here and there at the site. Many stone pillars of the Jangambadi temple bearing artistic motifs have been dumped at the burning ghat to the South of the Viṣṇupāda temple.

It is worthy of note that a beautiful image of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa of black stone of Pāla period (9th Century A.D.), which was originally installed in the temple of Jangambadi, has been removed to the Gaya Museum for exhibition and preservation.

Two silver punch-marked coins[1] discovered from the Jangambadi area were found in the possession of a labourer who was engaged in digging the foundation for the construction of the Sankaracarya Kama Kothi Matha. The coins are well preserved and both are rectangular in shape. They are of 23 rattis and 25 rattis (or 41 grains and 45 grains), respectively in weight. Both the coins bear the marks of the sun, six-armed

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symbol, three-peaked hill with crescent, tree on a square platform and bull with a taurus in his front. The faint traces of the symbols on the coins indicate that they were in circulation for a very long time. Both the coins in question bear a single bold mark on the reverse. The symbol on the reverse of one of the coins is a dot surrounded by four taurines while the other one represents two fishes placed opposite each other and flanked by two crescents on either side. The coins seem to be the specimens of full *Kārṣāpaṇas* of 32 ratti standard. The loss of weights may be taken as the result of their long circulation.[2]

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1. The coins are preserved in the office of the Bihar Puratatva Evan Sanskriti Parishad, Gaya.
2. The author is very much thankful to Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh, Secretary and Editor of the Bihar Puratatva Evan Sanskiriti Parishad, Gaya for the identification of the symbols on the coins.

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8

Contemporary Forgeries of Silver Coins of Kumaragupta I

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Students of early Indian numismatics need hardly be told that of the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I minted most extensively in gold, silver and copper as well as lead.[1] Although the white metal coinage was already issued and popularised by his father, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, it was primarily intended to meet the monetary requirements of and confined to the erstwhile Western Kshatrapa territories of Malwa and Gujarat which were accustomed to the use of silver coinage for several centuries and were annexed by him, as clearly indicated by its general features and provenance.[2] Not only did Kumāragupta continue to strike silver coins for circulation in these regions[3] but also initiated a new type, commonly designated Madhyadeśa type,[4] to serve as an intermediary between the costly gold specie and the copper coins, which obviously served the purpose of small change, for use in other areas of his extensive empire.

In addition to the above, a large number of copper coins of the type of silver coins of Kumāragupta has been reported. Though of a somewhat smaller diamter, they are exactly of the silver type both as regards weight standard and obverse and reverse devices. Most of these are of the Western India type issued for circulation in the former Kshatrapa territories and reported to have been found around Valabhī (modern Wala, Bhavnagar District, Gujarat) and were apparently in circulation in the surrounding area. Many of these pieces bear traces silver-plating or-washing either throughout or at places and were evidently meant to circulate as silver coins.[5]

Comparatively fewer examples of the silver-coated copper pieces of the type of silver specie meant for the central provinces of the empire have been reported so far. One such coin is in the British Museum collection. But it is a mule inasmuch as the royal head on the obverse is imitated from the Western India type silver coins while the reverse, like that of the Madhyadeśa type, bears the fantailed peacock. As stated by Allan, it is plated and the illustration shows that the plating is almost complete.[6] One plated coin of the Madhyadeśa type was purchased by A.S. Altekar from a Lucknow dealer and is now in the coin cabinet of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. The silver-plating on the reverse

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is completely intact while from the upper portion on the obverse it has been peeled off.[7] There can be no doubt that, like the above mentioned coins of the Western India type, these pieces were also intended to pass as silver issues.

Entirely copper imitations of the silver coins of Kumāragupta without any trace of silver-coating are also known. Such pieces of Western India type were collected in a very large number by G. Bühler in and around Valabhī.[8] We also know of a few similar coins of the Madhyadeśa type. V.A. Smith Published one such piece in his catalogue of the coins of ancient India in the Indian Museum. He included it under the general caption of 'Silver' coins, evidently because it is exactly identical typologically with the silver issues of the Madhyadeśa type, but rightly described it as 'copper'.[9] Another similar piece was found at Jais in the Rae Bareily District of Uttar Pradesh.[10] A few such pieces are reported to be in the coin cabinet of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Banaras Hindu University.[11]

As for the nature of these copper coins imitating the silver specie, Smith observed in connection with the Western India type coins found around Valabhī that they represented "a genuine copper coinage."[12] Bühler also regarded them as real copper coins though, in his opinion, they were not issued by the Guptas, but by some later rulers who followed them at Valabhī.[13] In support of his contention Smith drew attention to an exact copper copy of a silver issue of Chashṭana.[14] Allan rejected the distinction made between a bona fide copper coinage of the silver type and a similar silver-plated coinage and thought that "all the coins were originally silver-plated—perhaps merely washed with silver—and intended to pass as silver, in spite of the numbers that now bear no traces of silver."[15] Altekar, who concurred with Allan, gave strong grounds in support of this view.[16] He pointed out that in ancient India normally different types were chosen for different metals and that issuing copper coins of the silver type alongside the silver-plated coins of the same type would have aroused suspicion in public mind. We also feel that all these pieces were originally silver-washed and as the coating was very thin one should not be surprised if it has altogether disappeared from a large number.[17]

P.L. Gupta, referring to the coins from the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, states that they are actually heavily debased silver issues and their cupric appearance with or without the traces of silver is due to the atmospheric effects."[18] However, the traces of silver-washing still visible on many a coin should leave no room for doubt that they have a copper core with a thin coating (or washing) of silver.

The conclusion of Vincent Smith that "the silver-plated coins are a debased issue of the silver coinage probably struck during a period of financial pressure"[19] has found favour with numismatists like Allan[20] and Altekar[21] and it is generally held that the imperial exchequer was drained off because of the invasions of the Pushyamitras and Hūṇas during the last days of Kumāragupta's reign as a result of which he was constrained to issue silver-plated coins which were intended to pass current as genuine silver issues. In other words, the issue of silver-coated specie is regarded as a means of tiding over the economic crisis which gripped the empire in the wake of Pushyamitra and Hūṇa aggressions.

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However, this view does not appear to be correct. First of all, one cannot be quite sure if there was really a financial crisis towards the close of Kumāragupta's reign, for it has been inferred from these debased coins. And even if there was one, it was certainly not typical of the Gupta period; for there must have been phases of financial pressure in the earlier and later times as well. Then again, there must have been fluctuating vicissitudes in the external and internal trade which must have had a great bearing on the availability of metals required for minting. The mint authorities must have been forced to take necessary steps to cope up with these and similar other situations. And this must obviously be reflected appropriately in the early Indian coins available to us. One of the devices, and most popular at that, was to make necessary changes in the proportion of the principal coin-metal and the alloy. In the event of short supply of the principal coining metal for any reason and the consequent rise in its value it took the form of the reduction of the main metal and increase of the alloy in coinage.[22] This device—debasement—must have come handy to the state in times of economic pressure when it was faced with the problem of maintaining the value of its coinage, notwithstanding short supply and increase in the value of the main metal. And this device is known to have been adopted by Indian rulers quite often. The Gupta mint officials were also familiar with this technique as evident from a study of the Gupta coins. Unfortunately, a metallic analysis of the Gupta silver coins from this point of view does not appear to have been attempted. But Gupta gold coins have been subjected to such a study.[23] It follows from these studies that for some reason[24] there was a progressive increase in the weights of the Gupta gold coins until from about 123 grains in the time of Samudragupta they reached about 145 grains during the reigns of Skandagupta and his successors. This rise in the weight standard was reached by progressively increasing the proportion of the alloy while the gold content remained practically unaltered upto the reign of Skandagupta.[25] However, during the reigns of some of the later members of the dynasty the gold content was heavily reduced with the proportion of the alloy correspondingly going up until in the time of Vishṇugupta when the gold coins were so much debased as to contain only 43% gold, the rest being alloy.[26] The latter phenomenon (i.e. reduction in the gold content) was in all probability due to difficult economic situation. It would thus follow that the debasement of the principal coining metal was the technique commonly resorted to in order to tide over financial difficulties. The same device could have been easily resorted to in the case of the silver coinage of Kumāragupta I if there was really any financial pressure affecting the currency system.[27] However, had any such situation occurred, it must have been reflected in the gold specie as well. But, as stated above, there was practically no change in the gold content which was maintained intact not only during his reign but also of his son and successor, Skandagupta. Eever if it is assumed that the availability of silver was affected adversely due to the blocking of trade channels due to outside invasions, the problem could have been met with easily by resorting to debasement.

Moreover, it would have been highly inadvisable for the state to issue silver-plated coins and pass them off to the subjects as silver issues which obviously amounted to fraud. This monetary fraud could not have taken much time to be detected by the

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users of these coins. Slight contact with fire or repeated use for some time would have resulted in the total or partial disappearance of the silver-washing and thereby revealed the true nature of these coins and the fraud committed by the state which could have ill-afforded to lose credibility in public eye. This device would have been all the more uncalled for when the problem could have been tackled by debasement which appears to have been an accepted practice. It is noteworthy in this connection that even Altekar who, following Smith and Allan, thought that the silver-plate coins were designed to tide over financial pressure criticised Smith's view that Kumāragupta's copper coins of the silver type without any trace of plating represented a genuine copper currency of the silver type on the ground that the issue of such coins was fraught with "the danger of their (Guptas') financial fraud being suspected and detected by the public."[28] It is thus obvious that the silver-plated specie were not state issues.

What is then the genesis of these coins? It seems that, as at present, forgeries of coins were a commonplace in ancient India. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya describes the equipment employed in forging coins and refers to a state officials called *Rūpadarśaka* who was entrusted with the responsibility of examining coins, obviously in order to distinguish between genuine and fake coins. It was only after certification by him that coins could find an entry into the royal exchequer.[29] We heve several other references to the examination of coins and the officials connected with this work.[30] This shows the enormous proportion of counterfeit coins in circulation in those days. These forgeries were evidently due to traders and smiths who were after making cheap money at the cost of the people. And one of the easiest ways of forging was to plate or wash base metal coins with silver and let them pass as silver issues. To them it mattered little if the fraud was detected, for by that time they would have made enough money. Therefore, the silver-plated copper coins bearing the name of Kumāragupta furnish an illustration of a large-scale forgery by fraudulent traders during the reign of Kumāragupta.

Attention may be invited in this connection to the Roman Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) during whose reign both gold and silver coins were heavily depreciated due to a disastrous inflation. The gold coinage had lost a considerable percentage of its gold contents. He also introduced a large bronze coin with a thin overlay of silver which was known as follis.[31] But this Roman parallel does not apply to the coins under study. In Rome, the depreciation was progressive and it reached its climax during Diocletian's reign. In India the condition was entirely different. There was no such debasement during the reign of Chandragupta II whose son Kumāragupta and grandson Skandagupta also continued to mint good silver. As shown above, gold coinage of the period also affords no evidence of an economic crisis. While in the Roman context the follis was anticipated by the heavily debased earlier coins in both gold and silver, the silver-plated coins of Kumāragupta do not fit in with the other coins issued by him as well as by his predecessor and successor. Then again, whereas in Rome the issue of silver-plated bronze was confined to a particular phase of her history, in India this phenomenon appears to have been fairly wide-spread. For, we know of silver-plated coins not only of Kumāragupta's reign but also of several other rulers. A fairly good

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number of silver-plated copper punch-marked coins have also been reported. It would be ridiculous to argue that in ancient India the state constantly faced an economic crisis necessitating the minting of silver-plated coins. To our mind, the only valid explanation of this phenomenon would be to regard these issues ancient forgeries.[32] It may be pointed out here that allan also was willing to regard some of the comparatively rare plated coins as ancient forgeries though he added that their good workmanship might suggest that as in Rome they might have been issued by mint authorities to pay expenses.[33]

To sum up, the silver-plated copper pieces bearing the name of Kumāragupta and popular attributed to a period of financial pressure during his reign are actually contemporary forgeries produced by some fraudulent private parties, viz. traders or smiths.[34]

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7. *JNLI*, XIII, pp. 76-77, Pl. V. 19.
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24. It is generally held that the increase in the weight was deliberate and aimed at making these coins conform to the indigenous *suvarṇa* standard instead of the Kushāṇa standard which was adopted by the earlier members of the dynasty. *CGE*, pp. 296-297.
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34. This paper substantially forms part of a monograph on ancient forgeries of coins which is under preparation.

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9

On the Recent Findings of Ground and Polished Stone Industries of South West Bengal

M. BHATTACHARYA

Abstract

Recent exploration along the Tarapheni valley of South West Bengal have resulted in the discovery of a number of ground and polished celts. Along with the celts there occur some broken ring-stones. Microliths have also been found to be distributed in clusters from the same places wherefrom the celts were collected. Although it is difficult to distinguish the separate horizons for two distinct traditions, the celts and the microliths, the observations at some places reveal that the celts occur in the sticky grey soil whereas the microliths in the reddish brown soil.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the twentieth century polished and ground tools have been found from different places of West Bengal.[1] The collections made by a number of scholars from different places amount more than hundred ground and polished stone celts. Recent explorations along the valleys of the Kangsabati river and its tributaries have also increased the strength of total collections.

The neolithic celts are found to be distributed in two clusters. One is in the piedmont region of North Bengal and the other in the paneplain of South West Bengal. Those found from North Bengal are typologically similar to the collections of North East India commonly known as Assam Neolithic industries. The collections of South West Bengal have very close affinities with those found from the neighbouring areas of Bihar and Orissa. It appears that the clustering of the cultural relics and environment form two distinct geocultural zones. But a sharp distinction is very difficult to make as Bihar, Bengal and Orissa assemblages include a number of Assam varieties.

The tools collected from South West Bengal mostly come from the valleys of Ajai, Damodar, Kangasbati and Subernarekha and their tributaries. Generally, they are found in the high banks and top flat surface sufficiently above the flood plain. The average height of the river cliff ranges from 30-40 feet. As the tools are hardly found in stratified context it is difficult to establish the date of the Neolithic findings. However, Dani[2]

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attempts to establish the upper limit of the Neolithic of Bengal on the results of excavation of Goswami[3] and Despande[4] as third or second century B.C. Sankhalia[5] in his classification of the Neolithic and Chaleolithic cultures of India considers Bengal neolithic as pure Neolithic one. In this context it is worth mentioning that Assam or North East Indian Neolithic traditions also belong to the same stage, i.e. pure Neolithic. Sharma[6] recently suggests 5000 B.C. for Early Neolithic phase and 2000 B.C. for the Late Neolithic phase of North East India. It appears that Bengal Neolithic of South West Bengal is not much later than North East Indian Neolithic as typo-technology and the context of occurrence are more or less similar.

Geographical Background

The country, which is explored and wherefrom the ground and polished celts are found, belongs to the region where the old deltaic plain merges almost imperceptibly into slowly rising plateau of eastern most extension of the Chotanagpur division.[7] The region extends continuously and uniterrupted westward beyond the boundry of the state and the undulation becomes more prominent from east to west. The average height exceeds 300 feet and the normal slope is about 200 feet. The height and slope increase toward the west where it rises to over 1000 feet. The part of the region which belongs to the peneplain is characterized by hills of low crests in the most western part and in many places laterites cover a wide area. The general appearance of this area is that of a continuous layer spread over the country, swelling here and there with gentle undulating surface. The area is bounded by two rivers—the Subernarekha and the Kangsabati. The tributaries of Subarnarekha, Dulung, and Kangsabati, Kaliaghai and Tarapheni constitute the main drainage system of this area. As all the artifact except two have been found from the Tarapheni valley, a brief note on the microregional geomorphology of the said valley seems to be important.

The source of the river originates in the hilly region of eastern Singbhum of Bihar and flows parallel with the geological grain. Active erosion of the longitudinal stream lowering the plateau has resulted in alternating spurs and re-entrants. A closer examination of these ridges shows that they are all monoclinal. The dip is deep toward the north and anti-dip streams are widening the valley floor. The upper reaches of the Tarapheni flowing above 1000 feet lies in the plateau region, its course between 500 feet and 1000 feet in the piedmont and that between 250 and 500 feet in the peneplain. The surface of the first and the second regions is covered with red and brown surface soil and sometimes by lateritic soil. Banerjee[8] has pointed out that the red and brown soil has resulted from basal parent materials, deeply weathered due to regional geographical factors, abundant monsoon rainfall and high summer temperature. The characteristic colour is due to prolong weathering. The brown soil is the result of deposition of red soil in the low land from the upland after erosion. The soil is largely sandy and clayey with marked leaching effect. The lateritic soil is the result of latosolization process of metamorphic and gneissic rocks. The local geographical factor, the laterization process and its marked effect on the restricted growth of vegetation, are the main cause for poor vegetation. The local geographical factors have also their influence on plant and animal.

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Although there are some controversies over the details of structural geology of this region, Dunn[9] has given following stratigraphical sequence for the said region :

1. Recent alluvium
2. Laterites
3. Late Tertiary gravels
4. Granite
5. Iron ore series.

Sites and Stratigraphy

Most of the ground and polished celts were collected from the villages of Bamundiha, Kechunda, Baishnabpur and Dumugonda in Midnapur district. These villages are situated in the upper reaches of the Tarapheni, a tributary of the Kangsabati. The places, wherefrom the celts were collected, are situated normally on the high cliffs which are flat at the top. In most cases gully erosion is very prominent. The tools are often found from gullies. In a few cases they are also found far away from the river bed lying on the surface of recently deforested localities. The scattered distribution of the axes and adzes may be an indicator of their probable use. It also signifies the economy related with the said economy. A closer examination at different spots suggests that the country rock at the bottom is archean schist. The querternary deposits as exposed at Bamundiha, situated at the upper middle reaches of the Tarapheni, show cemented gravel underlying a thin layer of silt and clay with nodules. At Dumugonda, five miles down stream from Bamundiha, two gravel beds separated by a bed of silt can be traced. The quarternary deposits along the Tarapheny reveals following sequence :

1. Grey soil
2. Reddish silty soil
3. Gravel bed
4. Silt and clay with noddules
5. Gravel bed
6. Silt, clay and nodules
7. Boulder conglomerate

Reddish and silty soil are of early holocene and grey soil is younger than the red soil. Microlithic tools are often found from the red soil.

Archaeological Findings

The surface collection includes twenty-six celts, fifteen pieces of ring stones, and grooved stone pieces. The celts are scatteredly distributed over a larger area. They occurred both on the banks of the river and three or four miles away. When they occur on the high eroded banks, profuse Microliths scattered in clusters is a common feature in this region. But it does not mean that Microlithic tools are associated with Neolithic

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tools. Besides Microliths, the tools of upper Palaeolithic type have also been noticed near the same places where surfaces are eroded so much so that gravel is being exposed. Typologically ground ring-stones, grooved stone pieces and the celts belong to Neolithic tradition. Of the fifteen ringstones one is found in tact condition and other one is in a half way to completion as perforations by drilling technique was well carried out from both the surfaces but they could not meet as a result the perforation remains incomplete. Materials of the ring stones are of sand stone, quartzite and other hard rocks.

Typologically most of the celts are polished and ground. Most of the tools are made of metamorphic rock. Only two are made on sedimentary rick. All the tools were used as they bear the mark of utilization. For making these tools the chipping is the basal stage and smoothly ground or polishing the final. In some tools polishing is restricted only around the cutting edge. Completely polished tools are a few. Functionally the ground and polished celts can be classified into two types : axe and adze including shouldered adze. The assemblage includes one fabricator. Axe is very predominent constituting more than 66% and then comes adze 34%. So far form is concerned rectangular variety is predominent constituting more than 40%, next is triangular and sub-triangular about 20% each and rest is unclassified or incomplete. Round butt-end variety constitutes 48%, obliquely straight 29%and straight 24%. It has been found that among 59% celts cutting edge is convex, 23% straight and 18% obliquely straight. 58% of the celts have elliptical cross-section, 31% rectangular and 5% plano-convex. Length and breadth of the celts show considerable variations. Minimum length and breadth are 5.4 and 2.9 cm. respectively; maximum are 11.5 and 6.2 respectively. So far thickness is concerned minimum is 1.1 cm. and maximum 3.6. Length-breadth index varies between 37.36 and 97.96, length—thickness between 13.18 and 43.07, breadth—thickness between 32.91 and 60.87. Mean values of the length, breadth and thickness are 8.5, 4.6 and 2.3 respectively. When metrical values of this sample is compared with Sen's collection from Singbhum[10] and Bodding's collection from Santal Pargana,[11] it is found that a strong tendency of homogenity exists among these assemblages.[12] Besides three shouldered celts found from the same micro-region is worth mentioning. They suggest a dintinct technological tradition for manufacturing tools, i.e. sawing. The technique of sawing was applied in producing sharp angularity of these tools.[13] Typo-technologically these shouldered celts belong to rectilinear variety of shouldered celts of north Cachar Hills Zone of North East India.

Conclusion

Typological features and mode of occurrence of the ground and polished stone celts suggest that they have close relation with similar cultural relics found from the adjoining region, Singbhum and Santal Pargana. It is worth mentioning that all those industries come from such places which belong to a same ecological niche. This study suggest that a comprehensive study on the ground and polished stone industries found from different places of the Chotanagpur plateau and peneplain region should be attempted immediately so that a better understanding could be made on the nature and pattern of those stone celts. The position of the ground and polished stone celts of this region, Eastern India, in South Asian context could also be ascertained from that study.

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10

A Buried Town At Katra

KRISHNA KANT SHARMA

As early as 1878 what was seen as "The biggest mound" in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar by Sir Alexander Cunningham and what has been archaeologically operated[1] by ceaseless effort of the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Bihar for five consecutive seasons between 1975 and 1980, has now unfolded itself as the site of a flourishing town belonging to the 2nd century B C. This rich archaeological site, represented by Katragarh, a well known place on the bank of the Lakhandei in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, covers an extensive area of an ancient mound measuring about fifty acres. In the neighbouring region there are several mounds of large and small sizes. The whole of the area is an alluvial plain with such undulations and mounds as can be ascribed either to the working of river channels down the millennia or the deposits of past human habitations. The site since ancient times has been surrounded by two rivers, the Lakhandei and the Bagmati, both originating from the Himalayas. The Lakhandei has been more or less a seasonal river, while the Bagmati has always been a perennial one. In such locality there is also a third rivulet, known as Budhnad (literally the old river), flowing at a distance of about 7 kms. from the site. The Bagmati, which once flowed about 2 kms. south of Katra,* now flows just beside it and makes its confluence with the Lakhandei at about a quarter kilometer north of the main mound. This snow-fed river, traversing 193 kms. of the Nepalese territory and entering the Indian territory at a place about 2 kms. from Dheng in the Sitamarhi-Narkatiaganj section of the N.E. Railway,[2] flows over the Indian soil in the districts of West and East Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Monghyr where the basin has vast stretch of uplands broken by numerous streams and shallow depressions and ultimately meets the Kosi near village Boreno in the Monghyr district.[3] Until recently this river had its confluence with the Lakhandei near Kalonjarghat, about 25 kms. south-east of Katra.[4] The total length of this river is about 589 kms.

In ancient times, these rivers seem to have served the purpose of navigation and thus facilitated trade and commerce, an essential ingredient for the growth of towns. Even today the bamboo merchants float their bamboo rafts towards Bhagalpur through these rivers. Besides, these rivers were also connected with the Ganga in the south and

*Katra is situated at a distance of about 60 kilometres north-east of Muzaffarpur by Pucca road.

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the Gandak in the west. Thus Katra has been connected with several navigable rivers since ancient times.

Katra was connected not only with the important towns and cities of Bihar but also with the different parts of the country by roads. Traces of centuries-old roads are still recognisable in its locality, one of which is at a distance of 2 kms. to the south of Katra. This seems to have been a highway running from West Bengal to Uttar Pradesh and connecting Katra with important places, such as, Gorakhpur, Deoria and Sarnath. Cunningham in the course of his exploratary survey visited the site through this road from Muzaffarpur. The height and even the width of this highway can be seen from Bhutane to Rampurhari (some 12kms. long), situated at a distance of about 9 kms. west of Katra. Besides, from Nepal in the north and the Ganga in the south there are a number of old roads, all cutting across the highway and then going towards further south. Most probably these roads also worked as trade routes.

There are traces of many tanks, both large and small, in and around Katra. There were undoubtedly multipurpose tanks, which were not only meant for irrigation but their water was also used for drinking purposes by the merchants, caravan leaders and other passers-by. Such tanks represented by Dighi, Kurminia, Bareba, Jankalli, Panpibi, Kukurdhari south from Katra, Dhanserah, Dighia, Sadhba, Birbitana, Ararahia, Dhangaraha, Chandah, Belhi to the west of Katra are worthmentioning. Besides, a number of other ponds are located at Rajadih and Deogan, Bagaha, Sadhava, Bokaha, Jasmatti, Bharphoria, Basghatti, Khangura, etc. The tank Rajokhar in Brahmpur, about 13 kms. north-east from here, also deserves mention.

The mounds in this region are locally known as diha or tilhas. Of these Survindadih, Jhauridih or Rajadih, Chandahadih,[5] Kushidih, Basantdih, Baghadih, Marbadih, Kodaidih etc. are worthnoting. All these mounds are situated at an interval of about 2 kms. from each other. Besides, the mounds of Singhwada in the east, Bhadai in the west, Dhanwara in the south and Katai in the north, all falling within the radius of about 24 kms., deserve special mention. These mounds yield various types of antiquities such as, terracotta human and animal figurines, plaques having both male and female figures, balls, toy-carts, earlobes, corn and skin rubbers, hobs-cotch, dice, pestles etc., belonging to the early historic period. Remains of ringwells and somewhere burnt brick structures are also traceable. Naturally the existence of these mounds of large and medium sizes show extensive urban habitation in and around Katra in the days of yore.

Agriculture is important for the growth of towns in a particular region for the urban mass require a regular supply of food grains. As the area is a rich fertile plain dotted with many rivers and rivulets, various agricultural crops were no doubt grown in abundance. The surplus agricultural products seem to have been exported to the other areas mainly through navigable rivers and roads. Naturally the whole area produced various types of cereals in sufficient quantity on which the people living in towns and villages consumed.

Archaeological excavations conducted at Katra during five consecutive seasons between 1975 and 1980 by the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of

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Bihar, yielded not only a series of structural remains of the post-Maurya period but also a large number of other antiquities associated with them. They have brought to light the remains of a huge fort. Trenches KTG I, I (E), II, III, VIII, XIII, XIV, XV and XVI were laid out on the rampart of the fort primarily with a view to tracing the existence and knowing the nature of the defences. Massive defence walls consisting of baked bricks were raised along the periphery of the mound in alignment with the course of the river, apparently to protect the settlement as much from human onslaughts as from the ravages of floods.

Fairly good remains of the fortification walls in several courses were exposed in the trenches as discussed above. So far the rampart has shown its three phases of which the earliest one was made of burnt bricks. The bricks used in this phase were uniform, measuring 40×24×7 cm. The wall had a stepped bottom and was available to a maximum height of 4.40 m. (in KTG XV) and preserved in fifty-three courses of bricks. Mud, at any stage, was used as mortar and the bricks of the upper layer were so arranged as to cover the joints of the lower ones. A bricks paved (9 bricks in number) drain was also added outside the fortification wall connected with the inside of the fort for the purpose of draining out the refuse-water from a sizeable interior of the fort. The exposed length of this drain was 1.95m. running from east to west, while its width was 25 cm. In phase II, defences consisted of a massive rampart made of mud the digging of which left a moat or ditch around the Garh. The basal width of the mud rampart could not be ascertained owing to the excavation in a limited area. The slanting defence wall of the third phase measuring 2.60 m.-3.00 m. wide was built of bricks (50×30×8 cm.). The maximum extant height of the wall was 3.05 m. (in KTG I (E) preserved in thirty courses of bricks.

Trenches (KTG VIII, XIV, XV and XVI) laid out on the rampart revealed intensive building activities. They seem to have been mainly the ruins of watchtowers. Among brick-built bastions or watchtowers, each forming a square at the top, we have the evidence of one such bastion in the trenches under discussion. Besides, the trenches KTG XV and XVI on the south-western corner of the mound also witnessed a very interesting structural evidence of a stair-case made of solid burnt bricks, associated with phase I of the rampart. This stair-case could have served the purpose of convenient approach to the top of the watchtowers for watchmen on duty or occassionally for the curious members of the royal family to get fresh air in the evening. The said stair-case is of 6m. in length and 1.95 m. in width having 26 flight of steps. In the construction of the first and third defences, however, bricks were laid in alternative rows of headers and stretchers.

All the three phases of the defences may be dated to the Śuṅga period with the help of the stratigraphy of the site and the antiquities unearthed from the strata associated with them. The whole tower complex was studied carefully, but we did not find any evidence of windows and doors. The former might have lost their existence as a result of the sudden collapse of the wall due to recurrent floods and the latter due to the removal of bricks by pilferers.

Trenches laid out inside the fort also revealed other associated burnt-brick structures belonging to the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods. These buildings from the inhabited area

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seem to have been used as residences of the contemporary inhabitants. However, structures belonging to the uppermost level of the site invariably made of brick-bats, projected the impoverished state of the people residing inside the fort. The buildings represented by this period possibly had tiled roofs as evidenced by broken tiles found in local contemporary debris. Thus on the whole the material remains obtained from Katra display urbanisation at its peak.

The existence of town at Katra could be discrened from the fact that in course of a Kaccha road construction there under the Bihar Government's "food for work programme" in the year 1979, the traces of ancient drains were accidently found. A huge drain-pipe[6] constructed of four burnt bricks and forming a circular hole was suddenly exposed and brought to our notice. Obviously extensive urban habitation or municipal area such as Katra was equipped with a network of sewers that were constructed to carry off sewage, a fact which is also supported by the discovery of several drain-pipes of baked clay inter-locked with each other and connected with the main drainage system during our archaeological operations which involved cleaning work at that site. Moreover, this single piece of brick-built pipe provides evidence of a marvellous engineering skill of the architects during the early historic period, which saw the growth of urban centres and mercantile activities on a considerable scale. Besides, the remains of a number of ringwells and pottery paved floors have also been noticed.

The ceramic specimens picked up from the strata associated with the rampart and other habitational structures also reflect the Śuṅga Character. The specimens of the fine NBP appeared either from pits or from the strata below these structures or from the layers associated with their earlier phase or from unstratified layers.[7] The potsherds which were found in association with the above mentioned structural remains were represented predominantly by the red ware, although the NBP sherds were also not altogether absent. The negligible occurence of the NBP in association with these structures has shown that at the fag-end of the life of NBP the fort was constructed.

Among the antiquities found in association with the above mentioned structural remains mention may be made of important terracotta objects comprising beautiful plaques having both male and female figures. We have the human figurine representing male, female and couple. Besides, a number of animal objects have been discovered such as the ram, the horse, the bull and also the bird figures. Among other finds mention may be made of beads, whorls, toy-carts, wheel, dice, skin and corn rubbers, earlobes, dabbers, bangles, one mould of human head etc. The terracotta female figurines were partly handmade and partly moulded and were special types of applied head-dresses. Besides, weights and beads of semi-precious stones such as carnelian, jasper, crystal etc., both finished and unfinished, have been unearthed. Bone objects include pins, arrowheads and styli, beads, antimony rods etc. Iron objects include spear, javellin, axe etc. Besides, iron slags have been unearthed in large numbers. This site has further yielded a few uninscribed copper cast coins and a few terracotta sealings bearing only symbols, viz., taurine, ujjayini and *dhvajstambha*.

Of all the antiquities referred to above, terracotta plaques deserve special mention, because the figurines represented not only ranked first in frequency but they also showed

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a high degree of fineness, heavy ornamentation and varied styles of coiffeurs. At the same time the discovery of bone pins also in large numbers is significant. All these antiquities discovered from the above archaeological site, stylistically belonging to the Śuṅga period. It continued to be inhabited during the second and first centuries B.C. as well as during the first and second centuries A.D. It is worth noting that the sealing layer of the Śuṅga structural remains belonged to the Kuṣāṇa period, since a few Kusana antiquities alongwith a terracotta sealing and bearing legend in the Kusana Brahmi characters, one gold coin of Huviska have been discovered from the site. This place has also yielded remains of the burnt-brick structures belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. The typical ceramics such as sprinklers and micaceous sherds have also been picked up.

Of all the antiquities unearthed from the site, terracotta figurines are mostly moulded, which clearly show that the concerned art was at its zenith. The female figures are possessed of highly graceful features such as supple arms, unobtrusively prominent breasts, blooming cheeks and large and sharp eyes, which have been further hightened by the exuberance of ornamentation.

The occurrence of iron slag in large numbers and unfinished stone beads give us some idea of the iron technology and bead making industry. The raw materials for manufacturing these objects were imported from outside, most probably from the Chhotanagpur region of south Bihar. All this is indicative of the fact that iron technology flourished at the urban centre of Katra, and the black-smiths inhabiting that place manufactured various agricultural implements for the farmers of neighbouring villages. Thus trade and industry flourished on an extensive scale in and around Katra, and they gave impetus to the growth and development of towns in the region.

Thus we notice all the features of urbanisation at Katra during the Śuṅga period, and to some extent also during the Kuṣāṇa period. However, only a thorough and systematic excavation of all the sites in the locality of Katra may reveal whether they formed parts of the main urban centre of Katra. No doubt Katra was an extensive urban centre and some of these sites might have been the outskirts of the main city. The geographical situation of the site, its link with other contemporary towns, the extensive building materials (both defence and habitational), the existence of money economy, flourishing trade and commerce and the finds which are of prime relevance to the developed civic life, all strongly suggest Katra to have been the site of a town. As our knowledge is still in an exploratary stage, only this much would suffice to say that there was certainly a flourishing urban centre in north Bihar represented by modern Katra.

REFERENCES

1. The present article reflects the results of excavations conducted by the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Bihar, under the supervision of its Director for five consecutive seasons and the data collected by the author in course of extensive survey and explorations of the area. The author, who works on the staff of the Directorate, has been associated with the exacavations of Katra.

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2. Jai Narain Thakur, "Geo-Economic Study of Floods in North Bihar," *JBRS.* Vol. LXI, Parts I-IV, January-December, 1975, pp. 152-53.
3. *Loc. Cit.*
4. I owe this information to Sri Baijnath Singh of village Dhanaur who has taken keen interest in the history of Katra.
5. One trench measuring 10m × 5m. was laid out on the Chandahadih about 3 km. north-west of Katra main mound with a view to co-relating the pieces of evidence obtained from the main mound with that of its outskrits. The trench, however, yielded the material remains of early historic period.
6. It seems to be public sanitary arrangements and not the internal arrangements attached to individual houses.
7. Evidences of ringwells are common at the Northern Black Polished Ware levels and current even in latter times. A good number of ringwells found at Katra in close proximity may indicate their inside rooms occurence as privies apart from the purpose of soakage.

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11

Indological Notes (2) : Kinjar Hoard of Early Indian Coins

SARJUG PRASAD SINGH

Situated on the eastern bank of the Poon Poon river, the village of Kinjar is of great archaeological interest. It lies in the Kurtha Police Station of the Gaya District, Bihar, about 16 Kms. to the west of Jehanabad, the Sub-Divisional Headquarters. The village is connected by Jehanabad-Arwal Road and Commands an important position on the ancient route which connected Rājagṛha and Vārāṇasī. Kinjar is a NBP Site hitherto unknown. From the antiquities and potteries found from the surface, it appears that the place was inhabited by the people from the life time of the Buddha, if not earlier still. Sherds of NBP Ware and other associated potteries (dated between c. 600-200 B.C.) are found scatterd in the fields to the south of the village along with the eastern bank of the river. Maurya and Śuṅga terracotta figurines, stone and terra-cotta beads, metallic objects and coins are often discovered by the cultivators while working in the fields on the site.

It may be noted in this connection that the place is connected in the local tradition with the life of the Buddha and it is said to have been visited by him on several occassions on his way from Rājagṛha to Sārnāth.[1] It is also said that he was always accompanied with his *Vāhana*, the lion to cross the river on its back.[2]

The hoard containing 13 silver punch-marked coins, 2 copper punch-marked coins and 6 uninscribed cast copper coins was found in the possession of a cultivator of the same village. The hoard is said to have been found in a small earthen pot while the discoverer was engaged in weeding out the wild grass from a cultivated piece of land to the south of the village which forms the nucleus of the site. It is said that the hoard contained about 300 coins; but the finder considering them as valueless pieces of copper, kept the coins in a hole in the wall of his cow-shed. All the coins remaining the present pieces were lost in the debris of the cow-shed.

The silver punch marked coins of the hoard are of five obverse-symboled type and have been classified into 11 varieties on the basis of the grouping of obverse symbols. The symbols on the coins are not fully punched and many are out of the flan and also imposed on the others. Therefore, the complete form of the symbols have been restored on the basis of the study of the similar coins found in the other hoards.

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The system of classification of the silver punch-marked coins adopted here is based on the identification of the position of the obverse group of symbols. The classification scheme introduced by all the previous numismatists are not scientific and systematic. The variation of the six-armed symbol in a particular class, group and variety has not been taken into consideration.[3] The six-armed symbol is an important factor of classification and I have taken it to represent a Type and the variations of this symbol show the changes of coin-types. Therefore, in the classification scheme adopted here, the obverse symbols have been so arranged to represent a Type, class, group and variety. The sun and the six-armed symbol, invariably found on the silver punch-marked coins except a few varieties (which bear the three-human figures and two-legged oval with three arrows on it) have been recognised as the first and the 2nd symbol. Two forms of the sun-symbol are known. No. I, exhibits sixteen rays around a circle with a dot within it and No. 2, shows the same number of rays around a solid disc in the centre. But this distinction of the sun symbol does not effect the grouping of the obverse symbol and therefore it has been taken as the Ist symbol. The six-armed symbol is found varying on the coins and therefore, it has been taken as 2nd symbol to represent a coin-type. As many as 71 varieties of this symbol are known. The next symbol which is found on a large number of coins has been recognised as third symbol or class-mark to show the class of the coin-type. Of the remaining two symbols, the fourth one represents a group. This symbol in association with the class-mark is also found on a large number of coins and varies within the same class. The remaining one or the fifth symbol represents a variety and varies within the same class and group symbols.

Classification

Type A, Class I, Group I, Variety (a) : This variety is represented by two coins in good condition.[4] Both the coins are rectangular in shape and are of fine fabric. They are of 3.207 grammes (or 49.5 grains) and 3.077 grammes (or 47.5 grains) respectively in weight. The sharp cutting sections of the coins show that the coin-blanks were made by clipping the strips from the flatten thin sheets of silver. On the obverse, the coins bear the marks of the sun; a variant of six-armed symbol (two arrows and the same number of fishes, and inverted-crescents placed alternately around a circle-with a dot within it); tree of five-peaked hill; bull to *r.* and elephant to *r.* The orientation of the symbols can be easily determined and the size, shape and the treatment of the symbols on the coins show that they were impressed dy 10 individual pencil-dies or punches.[5]

On the reverse, coin No. I bears the traces of six minute marks and No.3, seven symbols. Both the coins bear different mint marks which are impressed on the lower right corner of the coins. These marks are deeply punched into the metal and can be easily distinguished from the other marks put by sharoffs during the circulation of the coins. The mint mark on the coin No. I is a large dot and on No.3 it is a simlar dot surrounded by small dots. The coins of the present variety was very popular and were in circulation in the markets of all parts of ancient India. The place of origin of coins cannot be determined on the basis of the number of coins contained in the different

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hoards. 242 coins including the present piece have been found. The hoards of Bihar yielded 50 Coins (15 coins were found in the Purnea hoard, 31 in the Machhuatoli hoard and 2 in the Ramana hoard). The details of the discovery are as follows[6] :

1. Amravati	hoard	...	89 coins
2. Bahal	,,	...	2 ,,
3. Big Bhir Mound	,,	...	22 ,,
4. Chandraketugarh		...	1 coin
5. Gulbarga	,,	...	8 coins
6. Gorakhpur	,,	...	2 ,,
7. Karimnagar	,,	...	3 ,,
8. Kauśāmbī	,,	...	1 coin
9. Lalgañj	,,	...	4 coins
10. Machhuatoli	,,	...	31 ,,
11. Mambalam	,,	...	13 ,,
12. Mathurā	hoards	...	10 ,,
13. Mayurbanj	hoard	...	3 ,,
15, Purnea	,,	...	15 ,,
14. Rairh hoards		...	25 ,,
16. Raichur hoard		...	1 coin
17. Ramana	hoard	...	2 coins
18 Taxila (BHU No.2)	,,	...	1 coin
19. U.P.T.T. of 1916	,,	...	1 ,,
20. Veersigmani	,,	...	1 ,,
21. Vizigapatam	,,	...	1 ,,
22. Vembavur	,,	...	4 coins
23. Kinjar hoard (under discussion)	,,	...	2 ,,
		Total . .	242 coins

Type A, Class I, Grop II, Variety (a) : This variety is known from a single broad round piece of thin fabric weighing 3.304 grammes (or 51 grains) in weight.[7] The Coins of the present variety are extemely rare and only three specimens including the present one are known. On the obverse, the coin exhibits the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol (of the previous type) tree on five-peaked-hill; dotted-wheel surrounded by taurines from all sides, and elephant to *r*. On the reverse, the coin bears three minute symbols. The mint mark on the present coin is a minute form of the sun-symbol. The coin corresponds to variety 6. VI. (e) of Allan[8] and IV. IX. B.I. of the Amravati hoard.

Type B, Class II, Group I, Variety (a) : The present variety is represented by a single rectangular specimen of fine fabric bearing clear marks of symbols.[9] The coin weighs 3.400 grammes (or 5205 grains) and bears the sun and the six-armed symbol (three-arrows and the same number of ovals alternately placed around a circle with a dot within it), dog on five-peaked hill and a flower wrongly described as "an object with five prongs and hairy tail to left, the middle prong is Knotty."[10] The fifth symbol is the elephant to *r*. On the reverse, the coin bears the faint traces of 8 symblos. Of the reverse

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symbols, the mint mark is a chaitya within a triangle. The symbol is deeply punched in the mid-field towards the left.

Interestingly enough, altogether 30 coins of the variety under discussion are known. The hoards of Bihar contained 7 coins (the Purnea hoard included 3 coins and Machhuatoli and Ramana hoards of Patna contained respectively 3 and 1 coins).

The present variety was also well-known to the merchants and pilgrims of all parts of India and they carried the coins from Taxila in the north-west to Bahal in the Eastern Khandesh, Mambalam in the South (Tamil Nadu) and Pātaliputra (Bihar) in the east and also in the many ancient towns of Uttar Pradesh such as Kauśāmbī, Gorakhpur, and others.[11]

Six coins (463-468) of the Amravati hoard have been attributed to this variety. Gupta considers coin 469 as a mint break. He says that 'there bull is punched instead of elephant as the fifth mark'.[12] But this is not true. Gupta could not identify the symbols on the coin correctly. The coin in question cannot be attributed to his IV.VIII. B.1 as the fourth or the group symbol (181) is not impressed on the coin. He wrongly considers the bull as the fifth or the variety mark. The coin belongs to some other group and variety. Here the bull is a group symbol and the variety mark is a different symbol which has been wrongly identified as symbol 181.

Gupta says that 'in course of the study of the inter-relations of the symbols in the symbol-groups, I noticed that the coins with the hare-on-hill symbol as class-mark (to which group II. II (b) belongs) have several forms of the second mark i.e. six-armed symbol. Coins of each group of this class i.e., having a different fourth mark have a different second-symbol'.[13] But this view of Gupta is doubtful and wrong so far as the coins of the present hoard are concerned. The class mark on the coins of Type B, II, I. (a) and B, II, II. (a) is a dog-on-five-peaked hill, what Gupta calls 'hare-on-hill-symbol', the group symbols or fourth marks are flower and bull respectively; but the six-armed symbol on both the groups are of the same variety showing three-arrows and the same number of Ovals put alternately around a circle with a dot in the centre.[14]

Type B, Class II, Group II, Variety (a) : is represented by a single rectangular piece of fine fabric in corroded condition. The coin weighs 3.175 grammes (or 49 grains). The symbols are faintly traceable. On the obverse, the coin bears the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol (three arrows and the same number of ovals alternately arranged around a circle with a dot within it); dog on five-peaked hill; bull to *r*, and a plant. The fifth symbol (the plant) is faintly traceable.[15]

It may be noted in this connection that the six-armed symbol on the coins of the same variety found from the other hoards is a variant of this symbol showing three arrows and the same number of ovals each containing a taurine alternately put around the circle with a dot within it; put the coin under discussion shows the empty oval type of spmbol without taurine. This type of six-armed symbol is generally found on the restruck and early series of broad and thin coins; but not on the later series of thicker and smaller pieces. The Gorakhpur hoard of silver punch-marked coins bear the empty oval type of six-armed symbol and this (symbol) appears to have been associated with

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the Magadha region. Therefore, the empty oval-type of six-armed symbol may be identified as Magadhan symbol and the coin might have been issued from Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha.

57 coins of the variety in question including the present one are known. The find spots located at widely distributed places such as Taxila, Amravati, Raichur, Bahal, Mathura, Machhuatoli and others show the popularity of the coins in all parts of India.[16] The hoards of Bihar yielded 17 coins (10 pieces in the Machhuatoli hoard, 6 in the Purnea hoard and one specimen was found in the Ramana hoard).[17]

Type C, Class III, Group I, Variety (a) : The hoard contains two coins[18] of this variety in good state of preservation. On the obverse, the coins exhibit the mark of the sun, and the same variant of six-armed symbol (three arrows and the same number of Ovals placed alternately around a circle-with-a-dot within it); bull to *r* on five-peaked hill; triangle-headed banner flanked by a pair of taurines from either side; and elephant to *r*. Of the coins, one is rectangular and the other is circular in shape. The coins are 3.272 grammes (or 50.5 grains) and 3.498 grammes or (54) grains respectively in weight. They are of very fine fabric and the edges of the circular specimen have been rounded by rubbing the coin on the rough stone.

The examination of the size, shape and the orientation of the symbols impressed on the coins show that they were manufactured by two different coiners or sharoffs and 10 pencil-dies (or punches) were used for impressing the obverse group of symbols. Traces of 13 minute symbols are found on the reverse of the coins and therefore, for putting the obverse and reverse symbols on the present (two) coins $10 \times 13 = 23$ dies (or bunches) were used.

The discovery of the coins from a large number of hoards found from widely distributed places such as Taxila, Peshawar (Pakistan), Palanpur (Gujarat), Amravati (Andhra Pradesh), Mambalam, Vizgapatam (in Tamil Nadu), Mathura, Allahabad, Kauśāmbī, Gorakhpur, (and many other places in Uttar Pradesh), Purnea, Machhuatoli, Ramana (in Bihar) and many other places of the country show that the coins were current in the most of the cities, towns and markets of all parts of India and Pakistan and the merchants, travellers, traders and the general people were well acquainted with the present variety of coins.

Altogether 366 coins have been found from the different hoards.[19] The hoards of Bihar (including the present specimens) yielded 59 coins. It is difficult to suggest the origin of the coins on the basis of the number of specimens contained in the different hoards; but the association of the 2nd symbol or six-armed symbol showing three ovals and the same number of taurines put alternately around a circle–with-a-dot-within-it with the Magadhan region is suggestive of the possible origin of the coins of present variety also from the city of Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha.

Type D, Class IV, Group I, Variety (a) : This variety is represented by a single rectangular specimen of thin fabric bearing the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol (two arrows, five dots surrounding a central dot, downward fish and a vertical line put around a circle-with-a-dot-within it), bull to *r* in a rectangular enclosure with two

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fishes—one under the mouth and another over its back. The fourth symbol is the combination of a central dot surrounded by four taurines. The fifth symbol is badly defaced and shows a standing goat before a tree-in-railing with five or six dots surrounding a central dot on its back. The coin weight 3.400 grammes (or 52.5 grains). On the reverse, three minute symbols are traceable. The mint mark, a small plant, is put on the upper right corner of the coin.

The coins of the present type found from Taxila in the north-west to Vizigapatam in the south and Machhuatoli and Purnea in the east suggest their wide circulation and popularity. 160 coins including the present specimen are known. Of these, 28 pieces have been found in Bihar (22 coins were found in the Machhuatoli hoard and 5 in the Purnea hoard).[20]

The details of discovery are as follows :—

1. Amravati hoard	—	70 coins
2. Bahal ,,	—	1 coin
3. Barwani ,,	—	31 coins
4. Bhandra ,,	—	2 coins
5. Bilaspur ,,	—	1 coin
6. Gokulvan ,,	—	5 coins
7. Gulbarga ,,	—	2 ,,
8. Hathuma ,,	—	1 coin
9. Karimnagar ,,	—	2 coins
10 Kasrawad ,,	—	1 coin
11. Machhuatoli ,,	—	22 coins
12. Mathurā ,,	—	1 coin
13. Purnea ,,	—	5 coins
14. Rairh ,,	—	8 ,,
15. Thathari ,,	—	1 coin
16. Taxila (BHU) No.I	—	2 coins
17. Umrer ,,	—	1 coin
18. U.P.T.T. No. 28/1916	—	1 ,,
19, Vizigapatam	—	2 coins
20. Present (Kinjar)	—	1 coin
	Total . .	160 coins.

Type E, Class V, Group I, Variety (a) : This variety is also known from a single rectangular piece.[21] It is of thicker and smaller variety and two corners of the coins have been clipped off. The coin wieghs 3.368 grammes (or 52 grains). The coins of this veriety are also rare. 35 coins including the present specimen are noticed. Of the coins, 7 were found in the Purnea hoard, 6 in the Rairh hoard, 4 in the Bahal hoard, 16 in the Amravati hoard and a solitary piece in the Vembavur hoard.

The obverse group of symbols are the sun, six-armed symbol (three arrows, two dumb-bells and a taurus alternately placed around a Circle-with-a-dot within it). The

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second symbol is partly traceable and its complete form has been restored on the basis of the same variety of coins published in the other hoards. The third symbol is bull to *r* in a rectangular enclosure with two taurines—one below its mouth and the other over its back. The fourth symbol is the six-peaked hill with a dumb-bell in each peak. The fifth symbol is a stylised tree in railing. The mint mark on the reverse is not clear. The coin corresponds to variety 36A : of Durga Prasad, 20. IV. n. of Allan; 2. VII.6. of the Purnea hoard and V. IV. 2 of the Amravati hoard.

Type F, Class VI, Group I, Variety (a) : This variety is also known from a single rectangular piece of medium fabric.[22] The coin weighs 3.272 grammes (or 50.5 grains). On the obverse, the coin bears the sun and a variant of six-armed symbol showing three arrows and the same number of taurines alternately placed around a circle-with-a-dot within it. The third symbol is a standing human figure or a warrior in fighting pose with his hands raised upwards. The right hand is spread over the head and holds an indistinct object. The left is bent at the elbow and raised staight. The object held in the left hand appears to be a sword. The legs of the figure are slightly bent in a fighting pose. The fourth symbol is the bull to *r* and the fifth one is the horse to *r* with its tail raised straight.

The coins of the variety under discussion is also very rare and have been found from a few hoards. The Machhuatoli hoard of Patna yielded 2 coins and one each was found in the Bahal, Rairh and Taxila (B.H.U. No.2) hoards. The Amravati hoard contained 12 coins.[23]

Type F, Class VI, Group I, Variety (b) : This variety is also represented by a solitary specimen[24] of thick fabric. The coin is oval in shape and broken at the lower end. It is 3.187 grammes (or 52.2 grains) in weight. The blank of the coin was made by flattening the globule of silver by repeated heating and beating on an anvil till the required size was achieved. The coin bears the marks of the symbols of the previous Type, class and group; but the variety mark here is a tree in railing of four squares.

The mint mark on the reverse, is the faint traces five peaked hill impressed on the right lower end of the coin. 86 coins of the variety under discussion, are known. Of the coins, 34 have been found from the hoards of Bihar and 40 from Andhra Pradesh. The remaining 12 coins were found from Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India.[25]

Type G, Class VII, Group I, Variety (a) : This variety belongs to a different series.[26] It is a thicker and rectangular piece 3.207 grammes (or 49.5 grains) in weight. The coin bears the marks of two-legged oval with three arrows on the top; Pup on a pole within four-squared railing; a variant of five-peaked hill; dog with a pup in its mouth (holding the pup at its back); and a vertical staff put between a flag and an arch from either side. The symbols on the coins are partly traceable and their complete forms have been restored from the published coins of the same variety. 31 coins including the present piece are reported from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and others. 6 coins were found in the Taxila (B.H.U.) hoards, 9 in the Purnea hoard, 5 in the Amravati hoard; 13 in the Rairh hoard; two in the U.P.T.T. No. 28 of 1916 and one each was found in the Hathuma and Mathurā hoards.[27] The mint mark on the reverse of the coins appears to be a standing human figure.

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Type H, Class VIII, Group I, Variety (a) : The hoard includes a single rectangular piece of thick fabric.[28] The coin weighs 3.240 grammes (or 50 grains). The obverse group of symbols exhibits the sun, six-armed symbol (three arrows and the same number of taurines arranged alternately around a circle with a dot in the centre), three-peaked hill with crescent; peacock on five-peaked hill and what is called a 'Steel yard'.

It is worthy of note that 'steel yard' is intimately connected with the peacock on hill symbol and the combination of these symbols are also found on the coins which bear three standing human figures. The steel yard symbol associated with other symbols is not found. The combination of steel yard and peacock-on-hill carries some definite meaning.

Interestingly enough, the coins of the variety in question, were very popular and were in circulation in the markets of all regions of India and Pakistan and must have facilitated internal trade from one part of the country to another. As many as 1352 coins contained in 41 hoards have been found.[29] It may be noted that the mint mark on the reverse of the coin is the minute from of the peacock-on-five-peaked hill. The symbol is deeply impressed in the mid-field.

Thus from the above discussions we have seen that the silver punch-marked coins of the hoard were manufactured by two different methods cutting the strips from silver sheets and flattening the globules of silver by heating and beating process. Altogether 65 pencil-dies (or punches) were used for impressing the obverse groups of spmbols and 32 for the reverse.

It is significant to note that both the copper punch-marked coins of the hoard are of the same variety and bear the marks of the sun, and six-armed symbol (three arrows and the same number of taurines put around a circle with a big dot in the centre). The third symbol is a variant of three-peaked will with crescent symbol and the fourth resembles the Brāhmī letter Kū, the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left. The fifth symbol is a circle-incased within a bigger circle with hook-like projection at the top. The reverse symbols are lotus, Konchshell, elaborate *Svastika* and a variant of the hill symbol with crescent on the top. In Bihar the coins of this type have been found at Madhipur, Maner, Vaiśālī, Sonpur and other places. The coins weigh 16.524 grammes (or 255 grains) and 20.412 grammes (or 315 grains) respectively. Allan observed that these pieces are most probably the local coins of Magadha in the Maurya period.[30]

All the cast copper coins of the hoard are rectangular in shape and bear on the obverse, an elephant standing on a ladder before a triangle headed banner with *Svastika* and taurus over its back. On the reverse, the coins show the hollow-cross, three-peaked-hill with-crescent, tree-in-railing and taurus. The coins weigh between grammes (or grains and grammes (or grains) in weight. The coins of this type was very popular in North-eastern India and have been found in the excavations of Kumrahar, Bulandibag (anceient Pāṭaliputra), Sonepur (Gaya District), Vaiśalī (Vaiśali District) and many other places from the NBP levels (c.600 to 200 B.C.).

The Importance of the hoard, lies in the fact that it contains silver punch-marked as well copper punch-marked and cost-copper coins. This shows that all these types of

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coins were current at the time of deposition of the hoard. The hoard was a private treasure and the depositor might have kept the coins buried underground in his house and the flood in the Poon Poon river might have caused devastation to the ancient habitation of Kinjar and the owner had to abandone the treasure. The hoard might have been buried during the NBP period some time during the Mauryan period. The place was in occupation during the Maurya-Suṅga period is proved by the terracotta figurines found from the surface of the site. The hoard provides a good deal of numismatic data and contains less known and rare varieties of coins and throws a welcome light on the economic history.

REFERENCES

1. Buddha's association with lion seems to indicate his clan, the Śākyas, called Śākyasiṁha.
2. A piece of land to the south of the village is believed to be the old place where Buddha had stayed.
3. Gupta's varieties III-II, 7 to III.II.10 of the Amravati hoard show clear distinction of the six-armed symbol; but he has not noticed the variations of this symbol (six-armed) and has wrongly classified the coins into the same class and group without making any distinction.
4. Pl. 8, Nos. 1 of 3; Pl. 9, A.I.I. a.
5. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya refers to the punching-dies of coins as *Biṁbataṅka* (or dies with designs).
6. See *AH*, pp. 7f. The coins of the variety in question correspond to Allan 6-IV-a; Durga Prasad 17A3, Walsh Ll, Purnea hoard, III. VIII—a, and others.
7. Pl. 8, No. 2; Pl. 9, A.I.II.a.
8. One specimen of Canningham's Collection in the British Museum, London is catalogued by Allan *BMCAI*, 6. V.I.C.
9. Pl. 8, No.4; Pl.9, B.II.I.a.
10. *AH*, p. 22.
11. The hoards which contain the coins of the variety in question are-Raichur 1 coin; Mambalam 4 coins; Veersigamani I coin; Bahal 2 coins, Rairh hoards 2 coins; Big Bhir Mound hoard of Taxila 2 coins; Lalganj hoard 2 coins; Gorakhpur hoard 1 coin; Kauśāmbi hoard 1 coin; Purnea hoard 3 coins; Mabhhuatoli hoard 3 coins and Ramana hoard 1 coin.
12. *AH*, p. 63.
13. *AH*, p. 44.
14. Pl. 8, Nos. 4-5; B.II.I. a and b.
15. Pl. 8, No.5; Pl.9 B.II.II.a.
16. The coins are reported to have been found from Raichur hoard-1 coin; Mambalam hoard-4 coins; Amravati hoard-13 coins; Vembavur hoard-3 coins; Bahal hoard-2 coins; Rairh hoard-4 coins; Big Bhir mound hoard-8 coins; Lalganj hoard-2 coins; and Mothura hoard-2 coins. See, Gupta, AH. p.
17. The variety under discussion corresponds to $29A_7$ of Durga Prasad, A_9 of Walsh, III. IV. b of the Purnea hoard and others.
18. Pl.8 Nos. 5-6; Pl.9 III.I.a.
19. The coins correspond to variety 25A of Durga Prasad; 6.II.c.e of Allan; III.II.b. of the Purnea hoard; C.I of Walh and others.
20. The variety in the question, is the same as 35 A of Durga Prasad; 20 IV.m. of Allan; II.VI C of the Purnea hoard; V.V.B.1 of the Amravati hoard and others.
21. Pl. 8, No.9.
22. Pl. 8, No.10.
23. Gupta says that coin No.4020 of the Amravati hoard in all probability is a mint freak; but unfortunately he has not illustrated the coin; *AH*, p. 93.

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24. Pl. 8, No.11; Pl.9, F.VI.I.b.
25. The variety under discussion is the same as V.XIX. 2 of the Amravati hoard and III.G.I. of the Hyderabad Museum.
26. Pl. 8, I. No. 12; Pl. 9, G.VII, I.a.
27. The variety in question is the same as 44 A_2 of Durga Prasad; 2. VII. f. of Allan; II.I.d of the Purnea hoard and others.
28. Pl. 8, No. 13, *JNSI*, vol. XLIII, Pl. I, p. 31, Pl. I, Nos. 11 & 15. cf. Pl. 9, H. VIII.I.a.
29. The coin corresponds to 40B, of Durga Prasad; 2. II. a-b of Allan; III. A (a) 2 of the Hyderabad Museum; II.II. a of Purnea hoard and others.
30. Allan, *Op. cit.* Intro, p. IXXIX. About 200 hundred copper punch-marked coins of the same variety are now preserved in the collection of Shri S.S. Sinha, a Medical Doctor of Biharsharif. The coins are said to have been collected from the sites of Rajgir and Biharsharif.

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12

Observations on the Chief Priests of Early Medieval Temples in Andhra Pradesh

(Based on inscriptions of A.D. 1000-1325)

by

B.P. MAZUMDAR

A considerable number of temples were constructed in early medieval Andhra Pradesh in between the seventh and tenth century A.D. It became numerous in the succeeding three centuries. The total income of these temples was also larger in between the eleventh and early part of the fourteenth century A.D. than in the period covered by seventh and tenth century of the Christian era.

Neither literary texts nor inscriptions provide full details about the management of these temples. But inscriptions show that by and large the highest authority in a big Hindu temple was vested in the *mahāsthānādhipati*, *sthānādhipati* or *sthānapati*. For a Jaina temple the highest priest was the *ācārya*. Probably in some Hindu temples the pontiff was called *jīyya*. At Alampur lived Mādajiyya and Nāgajīya in A.D. 1299.

The largest number of references in inscriptions of the period under review to the *mahāsthānādhipatis* are in regard to the Brahmeśvara temple complex, at modern Alampur (in Mahbubnagar district), situated on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. In the eleventh and twelfth century the incumbent was only one at a time. Five *mahāsthānādhipatis* of this temple are mentioned in inscriptions of the period between A.D. 1051 and 1112. In 1051 Pañcarāśi was the *mahāsthānādhipati*.[1] Between A.D. 1057 and 1097 Brahmarāsi held the same post[2] except during the years A.D. 1078, 1085-1086. Someśvararāśi, who held the post under discussion in A.D. 1078,[3] had also earlier occupied the same position in A.D. 1055.[4] Sevarāśi or Sovarāśi was the *mahāsthānādhipati* in A.D. 1085-1086.[5] The reason as to why Brahmarāśi was removed from the pontificate at intervals is unknown to us. Dharaṇīndrarāśi was in charge of the same office in between A.D. 1106 and 1112.[6] All these pontiffs were adherents of the Kālāmukha Śaiva sect. But an inscription dated A.D. 1299 shows that there were many *mahāsthānādhipatis* of this temple, like Peda Maladevarāju and other laymen (*rājus*), in the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra. It has been suggested that this change was due to

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"the feeling that monks could not be depended upon for defending the temple properties, and the office of the *mahāsthānādhipati* was entrusted to the local chiefs who were powerful enough to undertake the task."[7] A slab preserved in the Alampur museum records that Maṇi Paṇḍita was the *ācārya* of the Brahmeśvara temple in A.D. 1103.[8] Whether his rank was equal or inferior to *mahāsthānādhipati* cannot, however, be ascertained.

There is a reference to Paleya Malleya as the *Mahāsthānādhipati* of the temple of Indreśvarasvāmin at Puṣpagiri in modern Cuddapah district, in A.D. 1182.[9]

A *sthānapati* seems to have controlled a smaller temple than the one managed by a *mahāsthānādhipati*. The Maṭedu (in Nizamabad district) inscription, dated A.D. 1120 refers to two *sthānapatis*, namely, Keśavajiyya and Menjibhaṭṭa of the temples of Maheśvara and Keśavāditya, respectively.[10] Salladevasvāmin was the *sthānapati* of the new settlement of Koḍur (Gangapuram inscription dated A.D. 1141).[11] The Sangameśvaram (in Kurnool district) inscription dated A.D. 1173 refers to *Sthānapati* Tatpuruṣa Paṇḍita.[12] A Telugu Cola inscription found on a slab near the Gangamma temple at Oguru in Cuddapah district (Siddhavatam *tāluk*), dated *Ś*. 1159/A.D. 1238 furnishes the interesting information that three *jiyyas* were appointed as *sthānapatis* of a temple of Mallanathadeva in the village Vonguru.[13] Thus though normally one *sthānapati* was appointed as the head of a temple, yet on occasions there could also be more than one pontiff.

All these heads of temples were held in great esteem by different sections of the population. During the reign of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa the donors used to wash the feet of *mahāsthānādhipati*, as for example in A.D. 1067, 1073, 1076, 1078, 1097, 1107 and 1112[14] at the time of making gifts to the temple of Brahmeśvara at Alampur. These donors were Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ciddana Colamahārāja, who governed the four *nāḍus* of Kanne-300, Pedakallu-800, Naravāḍi-500, and Ayje-300 in A.D. 1073, Vaḍḍarāvula Daṇḍanāyaka Nāranayya in A.D. 1076, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mallamahārāja of the Vaidumba family in A.D. 1078. Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mallarasa in A.D. 1107 and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Bikkarasa, Lord of Tagarapura in A.D. 1112. In A.D. 1107, however, the learned Candalādevi Abhinava Sarasvatī, the Chief queen of the Western Cālukya King Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI made a gift to the above-mentioned temple after libation of water poured into the hands not feet, of Dharaṇīndrarāśi Paṇḍita.[15] In A.D. 1299, however, several donors washed the feet of Mādajīyya and Nāgajjīya (SSAM, Text. p. 99) Mohāmaṇḍaleśvara Ciddanadeva Mahārāja of Telugu Pallava dyasty made a gift of a village to the temple of Indreśvaradeva after washing the feet of Palleya Malleya, son of Sarudeva, the *mahāsthānādhipati* of Indreśvara at Puṣpagiri in A.D. 1182.[16] Similarly, Daṇḍanāyaka Bhānudeva washed the feet of Indrasena Paṇḍita, the Chief of the Jaina temple, Baddi Jinālaya, located in the fortress of Ujjivolal, capital of Kallakilagu Nādu in A.D. 1186.[17] Thus during the period under review the custom of laving the feet of the chief priest was observed by big feudal lords and military officers. This feature is not known to have existed in contemporary Northern India. It may have been either due to feudalism as pointed out by R.N. Nandi[18] or due to the influence of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava and Nāyanāra sects. These sects

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believed in the *dāsatva* or attitude of slave to the deity. The Kālāmukhas took over the *dāsa* mentality. It may also be noted here that the *dāsa* attitude did not become popular among Northern Indian Vaiṣṇavas even by the end of the twelfth century A.D.

The extent of respectful attitude of the community to the pontiffs is proved also by the fact occasionally gifts were made for the personal benefit of the *sthānapatis.* Arrangements were made for food and clothing of Tatpuruṣa Paṇḍita, the *sthānapati* of the temple of Saṅgameśvara in A.D. 1173 in the time of Rāyamurāri Somideva.[19]

Kannada inscriptions of the period refer to varied types of gifts to temples being received by the *mahāsthānādhipatis* of the Brahmeśvara temple at Alampur between A.D. 1067 and 1078.[20] Inscriptions also mention the endowments as being handed over to chief priests of other temples. In the time of Western Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI land and flower garden for a Jaina temple was entrusted to Candrasenācārya in A.D. 1093.[21] Similarly, Indrasena Paṇḍita, a Jaina pontiff, received donations to a Jaina temple at Ujjili in A.D. 1186.[22] Rāmeśvara Paṇḍita, a Kālāmukha pontiff, was entrusted with the grant of land and other gifts to god Uttareśvara at Kolanupaka in A.D. 1088 by a feudal Cola chief under Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.[23] In about A.D. 1117-1118 Muttaya of the Kandūri family, vassal of the above-mentioned Cālukya king, entrusted a number of donations in favour of God Gaṅgeśvara Mahādeva to Vāgiśvara Paṇḍita.[24] Another Kālāmukha ascetic, Rājaguru Siddhānti Kaleśvara, high priest of the temple of Jyeṣṭhā, received gifts to goddess Jayeṣṭha as well as god Someśvara in A.D. 1978.[25] In A.D. 1182 Keśavarāśi, *sthānapati*, received gift of income from tolls to the temple of Gavareśvara in the time of Kalacuri Āhavamalla.[26]

One is not sure whether progenies or spiritual successors of these pontiffs continued to manage the endowments. On the one hand, an inscription at Bekkallu (Warangal district) issued in the time of Kākatīya Rudradeva records that lands and gardens were donated to two temples with the specific instruction that they were to be managed by Viśveśvara Jīyya and his descendants.[27] Again, the management of the properties of the temple of Brahmeśvara in A.D. 1299 was in the hands of local chiefs. On the other hand, in the reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva, the wife of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Gaṅgayasāhiṇi handed over the gift of a village to a temple to Īśānya Gurudevara in A.D. 1257, requesting that his line of spiritual disciples alone should continue as the trustees of the endowment.[28] The former document shows that the trust became hereditary in character. The latter indicates that the trust was to be managed by a particular class of ascetics. The directive that the trustee was to be appointed from the spiritual disciples of a pontiff was possibly necessary because the priests may have or inclined to dispose of or sell away the *vrittis* or endowments to temples. A few Telugu inscriptions of the thirteenth and first decade of the fourteenth century confirm the probable apprehension of donors. Much property of Indreśvara temple at Puṣpagiri (Cuddapah district) was sold away by its authorities.[29] The inscription dated 25 February, A.D. 1261 registers the sale deed of the shares in the *vrittis*, wells, paddy fields and the village in favour of *jīyyas* by the authorities of the temple. Again in *Śaka* 1217/A.D. 1295 some *vrittis* valued at 100 *māḍas* were sold away by priests of the same temple. Further, on 3 August, A.D. 1302 one half of the fifth portion of the landed property of gods Indreśvara and Somanātha in the new

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villages as well as *piṇḍikādravya* were sold away for 320 *paṇas* by Deva Jiyya and Malli Jiyya of the above-mentioned Indreśvara temple with the consent of the cognates.[30] It appears that the Indreśvara temple had become the private property of one or a few families. Indreśvara was not the only unfortunate deity in early mediaeval Andhra Pradesh. An inscription on a pillar in the temple of Santānamalleśvara at Puṣpagiri, dated *Śaka* 1200/A.D. 1299 records that the right of *pūjārī* service in some temples at three places, Meyikoṇḍapuṁḍe, Jallipāpāyareddipalle and Jallipādu, was sold away by four temple priests for 20 *rāyajeṭi-taṅkas*.[31] It is obvious, therefore, that the amount of money or commodities, which flowed into those temples, must have dwindled. The original proprietors may have deemed it wise to transfer the right of worship to others. During the reign of Kākatiya Pratāparudra in *Śaka* 1221/A.D. 1299 the *Vīrabalañja Samaya Dharma* and the *Samasta-pekkamḍru* of Alampur purchased from the *mahāsthānādhipatis* of the temple of Brahmeśvara at Alampur a field (*cenu*) of *regala* land in order to grant it for the *aṅga-raṅga-bhoga* of deity Gaureśvaradeva.[32] It should be noted here that the *mahāsthānādhipatis* of the temple were not ascetics but laymen. Thus the properties of the old Brahmeśvara temple were sold away when the temple was being managed by lay officials.

In contrast to the conduct of chief or higher priests of small temples, the pontiffs of big temples did not even sell a way their private possessions. They made donations. In the time of Cālukya Someśvara Trailokyamalla in A.D. 1050, Vipra Somibhaṭṭāraka, a Śaiva ascetic and *Sthānādhipati* of Podarupākā, granted a plot of land to Caṇḍimayya, a servant of Gaṅgamarāja.[33]

During the reign of the Western Cālukya king Trailokyamalla (Someśvara I) one Pañcarāśi, who probably himself was the pontiff of the Brahmeśvara temple at Alampur, and his father, donated some land and their house to an unnammed *Cāturjātaka* ascetic in *Śaka* 973/A.D. 1051.[34] Another pontiff of the same temple, Someśvarāśi, along with attendants of the establishment of Pañcarāśi gave a gift of land to Kāsignnā Boja (or Bhoja) in *Śaka* 276/A.D. 1055.[35] Even the disciple of Dharaṇīndrarāśi, another *mahāsthānādhipati* of the above-mentioned Brahmeśvara temple, gave land to god Brahmeśvara in Cālukya Vikrama era 32/A.D. 1107.[36] So the heads of the big temples and their associates made charity and not sell away their property.

Some of the heads of temples used to look after more than one temple. Siddhānti Kaleśvara was not only the pontiff of the temples of Jyeṣhā and Someśvara at Kukkanūr but also the monastic head of temples of Mūlasthāna, Siṅgeśvara, Rāceśvara, Cauṇḍeśvara, and Vikrameśvara of Yaraṁbaravi or modern Yalbargi.[37] The pontiff of Brahmarṣideva used to control a number of temples at Alampur. The pontiffs mentioned here belonged to the Kālāmukha sect.

It should not be construed that all temples in the period under survey were managed by the high priests. Sometimes the trustees were the *grāma-svāmīs* (proprietors of the village), as for example, those *grāma-svāmīs* who looked after the gift of lands to god Svayambhu-Somanātha and attendant deities at Perūru in A.D. 1260.[38]

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Another inscription found at the Kattale basadi at the same place belongs to the twelfth century.[10] This epigraph alludes to Jinacandra as equal to Pūjyapāda in grammar. Another epigraph of 1398 registers a grant by Abhinava Paṇḍita.[11] It states "formerly named Dēvanandi by his *guru*, then known as Jinēndrabuddhi on account of his great intelligence, Pūjyapāda was so called by the learned because he was worshipped at the feet by the forest deities;

prōgabhyadāyi guruṇākila Dēvanandi buddhyā punarvipulayā sa jinēndrabuddhiḥ /
śrī pūjyapāda iti caiṣa budhaiḥ pracakhye yatpūjitaḥ pādayuge vanadēvatābhiḥ //

The same epigraph in a later context compares Abhinava Śrutamuni to Pūjyapāda and calls him the conqueror of heretical faiths *śabde śrī pūjyapādaḥ sakalavimatajitaḥ.*

The next epigraph also from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa and dated A.D. 1432 eulogises him after Samantabhadra.[12] It states "then came Pūjyapāda, the supporter of the kingdom of Dharma, whose feet were worthy of worship by the chief of gods and merits of whose scholarship are even now proclaimed by the Śāstras he brought to light. Endowed with universal intelligence, possesser of the satisfaction of having accomplished his high mission, destroyer of the bow of cupid, he became just like Jina and was hence appropriately designated Jinēndrabuddhi by the ascetics. The great saint is unrivalled in the power of healing, whose body was purified by a visit to Jina in Videha and the touch of the water used for washing whose feet had indeed the virtue of turning the iron into gold." The same record alludes to Pūjyapāda second time. While describing the greatness of Śrutamuni, the inscription states that though his feet are worthy of being worshipped by Śrī, he is not Pūjyapāda (*Śrīpūjyapādopi na pūjyapādaḥ*).

The next reference is found in an inscription found at the Padmāvati Basadi at Humcha, dated 1530.[13] It states "Salutations to Nyāyakumudacandrodaya, to the author of *Nyāsa* on the *sūtras* of Śākṭāyana, to the Vratīndra who was the author of *nyāsa* named *Jainēndra*, praised by all the learned, also the great *nyāsa* called *Śabdāvātāram* on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and the *vaidyaśāstra* for the good of mankind; who made a *ṭika* to the *tatvārtha*, he shines in the world, Pūjyapādasvāmi respected by the kings and of a speech full of wisdom and distuisnguished for instruction."

An snscription from Malkhed dated A.D. 1293, is in the Neminātha basadi there.[14] This epigraph speaks of a Jaina saint Vidyānandasvāmi, almost as a contemporary of the epigraph. He was a disciple of Pūjyapāda who belonged to Mūlasangha, Balātkāra gaṇa, and Kundakundānvaya. From the context it appears that this Pūjyapāda was a later saint, perhaps of the fourteenth century. This is corroborated by another epigraph from Ter in Osmanabad district of Andhra Pradesh.[15] It records the installation of the *pādukās* of the great teacher Vidyānandasvāmi, a favourite disciple of Pūjyapāda. There is another inscription at Pārśvanātha basadi at Kaikini in north Kanara district.[16] It mentions Vidyānandi of Balātkāragaṇa and Sarasvatigaccha and in all probability, he may be the same as the one mentioned in the Ter inscription referred to above.

Thus the above epigraphs show that the personality of Pūjyapāda had attained eminence as early as the sixth century and the eagerness of the composers of the

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epigraphs to compare Jains saints to Pūjyapāda in grammar is particularly noteworthy. Thus these references give authenticity to traditional accounts and throw valuable light on the personality of this great Jaina teacher and saint.

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3. *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 209.
4. Kielhorns list on 26.
5. *E.C.* II, 156.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, Ch 2.
7. *Ibid.*, II, 173.
8. *Ibid.*, VII, Sk 124.
9. *Ibid.*, II, 71.
10. *Ibid.*, 57.
11. *Ibid.*, 360.
12. *Ibid.*, 364.
13. *Ibid.*, VIII, Nagar 46.
14. G.H. Khare (Ed) : *Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan*, II, 28.
15. *Loc. cit.*
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14

Early Jainism and Archaeological Cultures

K.C. JAIN

According to traditions preserved in scriptures, Jaina religion is eternal, and there appeared twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras at certain intervals to propagate this religion for the salvation of the world. These traditions are to be ascertained in the light of the archaeological excavations and explorations carried out at different sites in India, and at the same time, the archaeological cultures of the period of early Jainism are to be determined.

Jaina religion as eternal

Jainism divides the whole span of time into two equal cycles, *Utsarpiṇi kāla* and *Avasarpiṇi kāla*. Each *Utsarpiṇi* and *Avasarpiṇi kāla* extends over ten *Koṭā-koṭī Sāgaropama* years which are sub-divided into six parts known as *aras*. The six divisions of *Avasarpiṇi* are known as *Suṣamā-Suṣamā*, *Suṣamā*, *Suṣamā-Duhṣamā*, *Duhṣamā-Suṣamā*, *Duhṣamā* and *Duhṣamā-Duhṣamā*. The six divisions of *Utsarpani* are *Duhṣamā-Duhṣamā*, *Duhṣamā-Suṣamā*, *Suṣamā-Duhṣamā*, *Suṣamā* and *Suṣamā-Suṣamā*. During each successive *ara* of *Avasarpiṇi Kāla*, the age, height, strength and happiness of the *Yugalikas* gradually declined. In all, fourteen *Kulakaras* (Manus) are said to have flourished during this period.

After the *Kulakaras*, twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras appeared at certain intervals and preached the true religion for the salvation of the world. All Tīrthaṅkaras were Kṣatriyas; Munisuvrata and Nami belonged to Harivaṁśa, and the remaining twenty-two to the Ikṣvāku race. The interval in years between one Tīrthaṅkara and the other has been calculated. Pārśvaś predecessor Ariṣṭanemi is stated to have died 84,000 years before Mahāviraś *Nirvāṇa*. Nami died 5,00,000 years before Ariṣṭanemi, Munisuvrata 11,00,000 years before Nemi; the next intervals are 65,00,000 and 10,000,000 or a crore; the following intervals cannot be expressed in definite number of years, but are given in *Palyopamas* and *Sāgaropamas*, the last interval being one *crore* of *crores* of *Sāgaropamas*. The length of the life and height of the Tīrthaṅkaras are in proportion to the length of the interval.

Besides twelve universal monarchs (*Cakravartīs*), nine *Vāsudevas*, nine *Baladevas* and nine *Prativāsudevas* lived within the period ranging from the first to the twenty-

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second Tīrthaṅkara. Together with twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, there are sixty-three great personages of Jaina history.[1] The first race of man enjoyed a longer life and greater strength and happiness than that of the present. The world has grown worse and worse, and the life of man shorter and shorter, so that the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva is said to have lived only for a hundred years, and died 250 years before his more celebrated successor, Mahāvīra, who lived only for seventy-two years.

Archaeological evidence to ascertain the truthfulness of the traditions

The traditions preserved in Jaina scriptures about the existence of Jainism in such an early period are not reliable, as they are not consistent with archaeological facts. The archaeologists tell a different story. Man appeared in India in Early Stone Age which ranges between 5,00,000 and 50,000 years. Economically, man was then a savage and a hunter, and with the help of rude stone tools, he subsisted largely on fruits, roots and grubs. The period of the Middle Stone Age is placed between c. 50,000 and 20,000 B.C. Man continued to improve his stone tools as necessitated by his environments and ecology. These tools are of flake nature, and they are smaller than those of the Early Stone Age. The Upper Palaeolithic Age is concerned with blades and burin tools. It falls within the time bracket of c. 20,000-10,000 B.C. Mesolithic Age is different from the earlier ones in climate, technology and other spheres. The old glacial conditions had more or less vanished, and the dry period had started. With the climatic changes, the flora and fauna altered as also the implements. Technologically, tiny tools known as 'microliths' highly improved upon the earlier ones, were devised. Inspite of these changes and improvements, man still remained a savage and a barbarian. The Mesolithic Age may be placed between c. 8000 and 2000 B.C. In the Neolithic Age (c. 4000-1000 B.C.), polished and ground stone tools were made and used. There was transition from food gathering to food production. Man started to domesticate animals and to manufacture pottery.

There are certain stages in the growth of civilization.[2] The Carbon-14 datings for the Preceramic stage of Kili Ghul Mohammed, near Quetta in Pakistan, confined to the Baluchi hills (Period I viz. 3712-3600 B.C.), are of great value. They provide evidence for the domestication of animals and for agriculture, and not for the use of pottery. The pottery industries, first hand-made and then wheel-made, started (3300-3000 B.C.) in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Kili Ghul Mohammad III marks the infiltration of copper. Professions of cattle breeding and agriculture contributed to settled life and formation of villages in about 3000 B.C.

The Pre-Harappan Age (c. 2700-2400 B.C.) gave birth to some new traits which led to the threshold of urbanization. The remains of fortification wall, houses, metal and other objects have been discovered. In Harappan Age (c. 2350-1750 B.C.), a large, number of urban centres with elaborate planning of roads and streets emerged. The script for the first time was invented. In the Chalcolithic Age (c. 1750-1000 B.C.), people of different regions shares a common level of food economy and technology, they differ in ceramic traditions because of environmental conditions.

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The chief priests of early medieval Andhra Pradesh belonged to the Śaiva Kālāmukha, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and Jaina sects. As in other parts of the Deccan and South India some of these priests controlled more than one temple. Unlike Northern India, the chief priests of early medieval Andra Pradesh, as well as other parts of Peninsular India, usually received gifts on behalf of temples. The characteristic difference between the temples of Andhra Pradesh and the rest of Peninsular India is the sale of property of temples towards the end of the period under review. Further, in the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth century, the temples of Andhra Pradesh were being managed by more than one individual, who were not invariably ascetics.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *APAS No. 3*—Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series No. 3 (Kannada inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh by P. Sreenivāsachar and P.B. Desai, Hyderabad, 1961).
2. *Arch. Series*—Archaeological Series. (*No. 31*: Select Epigraphs of Andhra Pradesh by P.B. Parabrahma Sastri, ed. G.S. Gai, Hyderabad. *No. 32* : Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions, Pt. IV by M. Somasekhara Sarma, Hyderabad, 1973. *No. 38*: Perūr inscriptions, by N. Venkataramanayya, Hyderabad).
3. *CI for 1964*—A catalogue of inscriptions copied upto 1964, by P.V.P. sastry, Revised by G.S. Gai, Hyderabad.
4. *RE*—Epigraphia Indica.
5. *HAS*—Hyderabad Archaeological Series. (*No. 18* : A corpus of inscriptions in the Kannada districts of Hyderabad State ed. P.V. Desai, Hyderabad, 1958. *No. 19* : A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh, ed. P. Sreenivasachar, Hyderabad, 1956).
6. *RE*—Andhra Pradesh Govt. Report on Epigraphy (for 1965 by N. Venkataramanayya, 1968 for 1966 by N. Venkataramanayya, for 1967 by P.V.P. Sastry, 1975).
7. *SSAM*—Stone Sculptures in the Alampur Museum by Md. A. Waheed Khan, (ed. N. Ramesan), Hyderabad, 1973.

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1. *SSAM*, p. 29; *APAS*, No. 3, p. 106.
2. *SSAM*, pp. 30, 42, 46, 50, 68, 70; *APAS* No. 3, p. 108.
3. *APAS*, No. 3, p. 108.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 131.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 126; *SSAM*, pp. 81, 85, 95.
7. *SSAM*, p. 22. The inscription is transcribed in p. 98 f.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 77 (inscr. No. 16).
9. *RE* for 1965, no. 71.
10. *Ibid.*, for 1966, No. 338.
11. *APAS*, No. 3, pp. 8, 31-32.
12. *RE* for 1966, No. 212.
13. *RE* for 1967, No. 378.
14. *SSAM*, pp. 45, 49, 53, 57, 71, 81, 91.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
16. *RE* for 1965, No. 71.
17. *APAS*, No. 3 (MN 60), p. 43 : Also Cf. p. 43 (MN 61) dated Ś. 888 (the date is incorrect).

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18. R.N. Nandi, "Origin and Nature of Saivite Monasticism", in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, p.195. He observes "This subservience of the secular authority to religious authority is a characteristic of feudal relationship which is not met in earlier official documents registering gifts of lands to priests and temples" (p. 195).
19. *RE* for 1966, no. 212.
20. *APAS*. No. 3, pp. 104 (No. 8), 105 (no. 11), 108 (no. 14) and 111 (no. 16).
21. *RE* for 1965, no. 257.
22. *APAS*, No. 3, p. 43.
23. *CI* for 1964, No. 145.
24. *Arch. Series*, No. 32, p. 26.
25. *HAS*, No. 18, p. 63 f.
26. *CI* for 1964, no. 109.
27. *Arch. Series* No. 32, p. 52 f. (inscr. No. 24).
28. *RE* for 1967, no. 212.
29. *Ibid.*, for 1965, Nos. 72 and 70.
30. *Ibid.*, for 1965, No. 77.
31. *Ibid.*, No. 66.
32. *Arch. Series* No. 32, p. 81 f. (inscr. No. 36); *SSAM*, p. 98 f. (inscr. No. 22).
33. *Arch. Series* No. 31, p. 7 f.
34. *SSAM*, p. 29 Text lines 18-25.
35. *APAS* No. 3 (Nos. 98, 113) pp. 120, 131.
36. *SSAM* (No. 18), p. 86 text lines 41-43. It is difficult to state categorically that the name of the *gāvuṇḍa* which may mean a son or a disciple, was Brahmeśvara. It is unlikely that the pontiff Dharanīndra had a son.
37. *HAS* No. 18, p. 28.
38. *Arch. Series* No. 38, (Inscr. No. 12, p. 14 f. The *Samayas*, which were functional and caste groups of people in medieval Andhra Pradesh, accepted fixed money deposits or lands for maintenance of lamps in temples perpetually. (*Proc. Indian History Congress*, Bhubaneshwar, 1977, p. 377).

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13

Epigraphical References to Pujyapada

A.V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Pūjyapāda is a celebrated Jaina saint, philosopher and author who played a dominant role in the development of Jainism in South India. Unfortunately authentic information about him is not available and hence the references about him in epigraphs assume significance and importance. Some of the important epigraphical references are examined here.

There are about a dozen inscriptions mentioning this Jaina saint. Some of them mention him by name while others allude to him by his works. The earliest of the epigraphs in this context belongs to the middle of the sixth century and was perhaps contemporary to him. All the inscriptions generally explain his name as the one whose feet were worshipped by gods. They also refer to his various works and particularly his grammar. He is considered to be the embodiment of the knowledge of grammar. He is also mentioned by his other names Devanandi and Jinēndrabuddhi. The former was his original name and the other name he acquired as he became great. He was so great that the *abhiśeka* water of his feet had the virtue of turning iron into gold.

From the context and the chronology in which the name Pūjyapāda is found in inscriptions, it becomes clear that there were atleast more than one person of the same name and the celebrated gaina teacher was the earliest and perhaps was a contemporary of Gaṅga king Durvinita. These epigraphs are examined individually in a chronological manner.

A copper plate inscription dated A.D. 550 coming from Gummreddipura in Srinivasapura taluk of Kolar district is the earliest.[1] It records *Sabdāvatārakārēṇa dēvabhāratinibaddha vaḍḍakathēna kirātārjunīye pañchādaśasargaṭikakārēṇa Durvinītēna nāmadhēyēna*. The Hebbur copper plate of the same period does not mention Pūjyapāda by name but refers to him as the author of Śabdāvatāra.[2] It also states that the Gaṅga king Durvinita was a disciple of Pujyapāda. This is how Lewis Rice interpreted the text; *Śabdāvatārakārēṇa dēvabhāratinibaddha bṛhatpathaḥ* meaning that Durvinita was restricted to the path of greatness by the instruction of the divine who was the author of the *Śabdāvatāra*. Thus Rice fixed the rough chronology of Pūjyapāda as the contemporary of Ganga king Durvinīta. But this was not accepted by R. Narasimachar who

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published a revised text of the epigraph. According to him the text should read "*Śabdāvatārakārēṇa dēvabhāratinibaddha bṛhatkathaḥ*, thereby meaning that the *Śabdāvatāra* and the *Bṛhatkathā* were commented on by Durvinīta. Hence according to him this has no reference to Pūjyapāda at all.

The next inscription is from Lakṣmeśvar. It is dated during the rule of Chālukya Vinayāditya and corresponds to A.D. 730.[3] It mentions a grant of a village named Kardama near the city of Puligere to Udayadēvapaṇḍita who is described as the disciple of Pūjyapāda. This record has also been interpreted in a slightly different way according to which the grantee was a preacher of Pūjyapāda's *Jinēndra Vyākaraṇa*.[4] However, this is regarded as a spurious inscription by some.

There is an inscription on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of the Eraḍukaṭṭe basadi in Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa.[5] It refers to an epitaph set up in memory of Mēghacandra Traividyadēva by Lakṣmīmatī, wife of Gaṅgarāja, a Hoysaḷa general. The epigraph is dated A.D. 1115. It is a long epigraph and gives the genealogy of many Jaina teachers and alludes to Pūjyapāda while referring to Mēghacandra. Of the latter it states that he was the erudite Pūjyapāda himself in all grammars. Thus Pūjyapāda is looked upon as the embodiment of scholarship in grammar. *Sarva vyākaraṇe vipaścidadhipaḥ śrī Pūjyapādasvayam.* An inscription in the Pārśvanātha basadi at Chamarajanagar dated A.D. 1116[6] refers to Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana's rule, and alludes to this saint as Pūjyāṅghri and characterises him as the abode of excellent character and conduct—*Śrī pūjyāṅghrirudatta vrittanilayī.*

Another epigraph of A.D. 1145 is from Gandhavāraṅa basadi in Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa.[7] It records the death of Jaina saint Prabhācandra, a senior disciple of Mēghacandra. This epigraph compares the saint Mēghacandra to Pūjyapāda in grammar. A similar comparison is found in an inscription from Balligame of the date A.D. 1076.[8] The next inscription, also from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa, furnishes the genealogy of Jaina teachers among whom Pūjyapāda is also included.[9] It is an undated inscription but mentions Hullarāja, treasurer of Hoysala Narasiṁha I and on this basis it has been dated to A.D. 1163. This epigraph mentions Pūjyapāda immediately after Samantabhadra. "Then came Pūjyapāda, so called because his two feet were worshipped by the deities; who had originally the name Dēvanandi and because of his great and towering intellect got the name Jinēndrabuddhi. His unequalled knowledge in grammar is proclaimed by his *Jainēndra Vyākaraṇa*; his proficiency in philosophy is proclaimed by his great work *Sarvārthasiddhi*; his poetical talent and knowledge of prosody is known by his work *Jainābhiśēka* and his peace of mind is proclaimed by his *Samādhiśataka*. Such is the greatness of Pūjyapāda muni who is worthy of being honoured by the groups of sages."

yō dēvanandīprathamābhidānaḥ buddhyā mahatyā sa Jinēndrabuddhiḥ /
śrī pūjyapādojani dēvatābhiryatpūjitaṁ pādayugalam yadīyaḥ //
jainēndranijaśabdabhōgamatulaṁ sarvārthasiddhiḥparā /
siddhāntenipuṇattvamudghakavitaṁ jainābhiśēkaḥ svakaḥ /
Candassukṣmadhīyaṁ samādhiśataka svāsthyam yadīyam
vidamakhyatiha sa pūjyapādamunipaḥ pūjyo muninganaih /!

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The above archaeological evidence does not prove such an antiquity of Jainism as revealed by the Jaina scriptures. From the evidence of seals and terracottas, it seems that people gradually started to follow some sort of religion from the third millennium B.C. They worshipped bull, snake, mother goddess, horned deity, etc. There is nothing to prove the existence of Jainism in such an early period.

Ṛṣabha as founder of Jainism

The number of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras is a myth, but some of them may be historical figures. It is believed that being the founder of Jainism, Ṛṣabha may be the historical figure. He belonged to the Ikṣvāku family of Ayodhya, and his parents were Nābhirāja and Marudevi. His son was Bharata after whom India is said to be named. He is said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time. It was during his time that the institution of marriage, the ceremony of cremating the dead and building of the mounds came into existence. He may, thus, be looked upon as a great pioneer in the history of human progress. It is often said that there is a reference to Lord Ṛṣabha in the Vedic literature.[3] Some Vedic preceptors paid reverence to Lord Ṛṣabha, and regarded him as the Lord of Lords. Against this, it may be argued that though in the *Ṛgveda* and in other Vedic writings, 'Ṛṣabha' has been mentioned many times, its meaning has been controversial and susceptible of different interpretations. There is no evidence of Ṛṣabha being mentioned as the founder of Jainism in Vedic Literature. Even in the days of Mahāvira, Ṛṣabha was not known as the founder of Nirgrantha sect from any contemporary source. The name Ṛṣabha of the first Tirthaṅkara seems to have become popular after the worship of *ṛṣabha* (bull) which was prevalent in early times. Like the imaginary Manu of Brahmanical literature, he has been described as the first ruler and founder of the new Social Order.

Arishṭanemi or Nemināṭha aṣ Tirthaṅkara

As the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara Nemināṭha is connected with Śrīkṛṣṇa as his relative, he is believed to be the historical figure. He was the son of a King named Samudravijaya of Sauripura, a big town on the bank of the Yamunā. His mother's name was Śivādevi. Kṛṣṇa negotiated his marriage with Rājamatī, daughter of Ugrasena, ruler of Dvārikā. Nemināṭha, taking compassion on the animals which were to be slaughtered in connection with the marriage feast, left the marriage procession suddenly and renounced the world. He then left Dvārikā and proceeded to Giranar, where he practised asceticism and attained salvation. Some scholars identify Ghora Āṅgirasa as mentioned in the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*[4] with Nemināṭha who is known to have instructed Śrīkṛṣṇa. Ghora Aṅgirasa instructed Śrīkṛṣṇa about *tapas* (asceticism), *dāns* (charity), *ārjava* (simplicity or piety), *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) and *Satyavācana* (truthfulness).

Actually, the relationship of Nemināṭha with Śrīkṛṣṇa was sought with the obvious purpose of gaining popularity for the Jaina faith in Western India by making the local people believe that the whole of the Yādava race attained salvation under the influence

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and guidance of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. Really, Neminātha is not a historical figure at all, and the same is probably the case with Kṛṣṇa also. His identification with Ghora Āṅgirasa is by no means correct as he is not known by this name in Jaina literature.

Jainism as a Pre-Vedic religion

It has been pointed out by some scholars that Jainism is a pre-Vedic religion. G.C. Pandey[5] has tried to show that the anti-ritualistic tendency, within the Vedic fold, is itself due to the impact of an asceticism which antedates the *Vedas*. Jainism represents a continuation of the pre-Vedic stream. The two nude stone images[6] in *Kāyotsarga*, i.e. the standing posture lost in meditation, discovered at Harappa are generally supposed to belong to the Jaina tradition. Even after the destruction of the Indus civilisation, the straggling culture of the Śramaṇas, most probably going back to pre-Vedic and Pre-Aryan times, continued even during the Vedic period as is indicated by some such terms as *Vātaraśana*, *Muni*, *Yati*, *Śramaṇa*, *Keśī*, *Vrātya*, *Arhan* and Śiśnadeva.

As a matter of fact, however, there is no definite evidence for the existence of Jainism in Pre-Vedic times. According to Gordon Childe,[7] the two nude stone images found at Harappa may be of the Kuṣaṇa period i.e. second century A.D. Even from the various terms mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, no definite conclusion can be drawn regarding the existence of Jainism in Early Vedic period.

H. Jacobi[8] and others have tried to prove on the authority of both Jaina and Buddhist records that the twenty third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva is a historical personage. He is said to have lived for a hundred years and died 250 years before the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. Pārśvanātha was thus born in 877 B.C., and attained *Nirvāṇa* in 777 B.C. He was the son of king Aśvasena of Vārāṇasi (Banaras) and queen Vāmā and thus belonged to the Ikṣvāku race of the Kṣatriyas. No such person as Aśvasena is known, from Brāhmaṇa records, to have existed. The only individual of that name, mentioned in epic literature, was a king of snakes (Nāgas), and he cannot in any way be connected with the father of the Jaina prophet 'Pārśva.' As historic period in Indian history starts from about the sixth century B.C., nothing can be said definite about the earlier dates and personages.

The religion of Pārśva during the time of Mahāvīra was known as *Caturyāma Dharma*, because Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows; (1) Abstinence from killing living beings; (2) Avoidance of falsehood; (3) Avoidance of theft and (4) Freedom from possessions. According to the Jaina tradition, the sacred literature descending from the time of Pārśve was known as *Puvvas* (*Pūrvas*). These 'Earlier' compositions were called *Puvvas* (*Pūrvas*) evidently because they existed prior to the *Aṅoas*.

The Jaina writers tell us that Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra, Nimi, king of Videha, Durmukha, king of Pañcāla, Bhīma, king of Vidarbha and Karakaṇḍu, king of Kaliṅga, adopted the faith of the Jainas.[9] As Pārśva (877-777 B.C.) was probably the first historical Jina, these rulers, if they really became converts to his doctrines, have to be placed between 842 and 600 B.C. They are known to have ruled over their respective kingdoms before the sixth century B.C.

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Archaeological cultures

The Age of Pārśva and Mahāvira (900-600 B.C.) may be regarded as that of Early Jainism, Archaeologically, it is called the ages of Eearly Iron Cultures representing Painted Gray Ware Culture, Black-and-Red Ware-Culture and Megalithic Culture. As the ware is grey in appearance with a core of well-levigated clay, and as painting is executed in black colour, it is known as Painted Grey Ware. It's epicentre was in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, and the main excavated sites are Hastināpur, Atranjikhera, Ahicchatrapura, etc. The vessels in Painted Grey Ware sites are restricted in shape, being confined to dishes and bowls. They are painted with geometric designs. The *svastika* was a favourite with these folk as well. The Black and Red ware was found at Eran, Prakashe, Bahal and Nagda. In addition, it has been found at Nagal (Gujarat), Mahishdal (W. Bengal), Chirand (Bihar), Sohagaur and Varanasi (U.P.). The Megalithic Culture was dominant in the South, and the main excavated sites are Brahmagiri, Nagarjunakonda, Maski, T. Narsipur, Hallur, etc. Megalithic culture is concerned with large stones which served as graves. These magaliths are associated with the Black and Red Ware, and iron.

These different cultures throw some light on the material aspect of the people. The discovery and the use of iron brought about a revolution in the economic conditions of the people. Iron played a great role in colonizing the dense forest areas. A large number of settlements in the form of villages were established. The houses appear to have been of mud walls. This culture had an agricultural society in which cattle breeding and farming formed important occupations of the people. People were both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The people ate rice, barley, wheat, etc. This diet was supplemented with beef, pork, mutton, venision and even horse's flesh. This indicated by the occurrence of large quantities of bones of these animals. The cow, fox, buffalo, pig, goat, sheep and horse were domesticated animals. People wore ornaments like necklaces, pendants, ear-rings and bangles made of semi-precious stones. Clothes like *dhoti* as a lower garment made of cotton were put on both by men and women.

ABBREVIATIONS

Chand.	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*
Moh. Ind.	*Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* by J. Marshall.
PSOB	*Studies in the Origins of Buddhism by* G.C. Pandey.
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East* Oxford.
Taitt. Sam.	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā.*

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2. The Birth of Indian Civilisation, p. 103.
3. *R.V.* X, II. 139; 2-3; *Taitt. Ar.* 2. 7. 1, p. 137; *RV*, X, II, 136-I; *Ibid.*, X, II, 9. 102-6.
4. *Chhānd.* III, 17.
5. *PSOB*, p. 317.
6. *Moh. Ind.* Plate, XII.
7. *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture.*
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15

Apropos of Mahavacaka Arya Nandi Ksamasramana

M.A. DHAKY

Svāmi Vīrasena (*anvaya* Pañcastūpa, Digambara Jaina church), in his commentary *Dhavalā* (A.D. 817) on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali[1] (latter half of the 5th cent. A.D.[2]), and Ācārya Jinasena who completed his guru Vīrasena's unfinished commentary *Jayadhavalā* (A.D. 837) on the ancient *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta* (Skt. *Kaṣāya-prābhṛtasūtra*) together with the *sutta's* ancient commentary by Yati Vṛṣabha[3] (4th-5th cent. A.D.[4]), repeatedly cite *mahāvācaka* Ārya Nāgahasti *kṣamāśramaṇa*, *mahāvācaka* Ārya Maṅkṣu *kṣamāśramaṇa*, and *mahāvācaka* Ārya Nandi *kṣamāśramaṇa*.[5] Pt. Hiralal Jain justifiably identifies *mahāvācaka* Nāgahasti and *mahāvācaka* Maṅkṣu with Ārya Nāgahasti and Ārya Maṅgu of the *sthavirāvali* (hagiological list) of the *vācakas* of the Śvetāmbara tradition, given in the *Nandi sūtra* of Deva *vācaka* (A.D. 400-425).[6] As for *mahāvācaka* Ārya Nandi, Pt. Jain is inclined to identify him with Āryanandi, the guru of Svāmi Vīrasena.[7] This latter surmise, however, seems untenable on several counts :

(1) The honorifics *vācaka* and *mahāvācaka* as well as *kṣamāśramaṇa* (sometimes abbreviated to *śramaṇa*) are characteristic of, and applied to, the eminent ancient *ācāryas* of the highest standing in the field of canonical learning of the Śvetāmbara[8], and possibly also of the now extinct Yāpanīya[9] sect. Only such *vācanācāryas* were qualified and entitled to teach the holy *āgama*-scripture to the eligible disciples. The epithets *vācaka*, *mahāvācaka* and *kṣamāśramaṇa* are in point of fact never known to have been conventionally associated with any Digambara pontiff, whatever the levels of his learning were. In the Digambara sect, those who possessed very extensive as well as more profound knowledge of the *śruta*, and therefore were qualified teachers, were from pre-medieval times called *elācārya*, an epithet that on the other hand had no vogue in the Śvetāmbara nor in thé Yāpaṅīya sect.

(2) Neither in the eulogy of the *Dhavalā* nor of the *Jayadhavalā* does Vīrasena or Jinasena describe Āryanandi, Vīrasena's *dikṣā-guru*, as *mahāvācaka* or *kṣamāśramaṇa* : indeed neither says a word in praise of him. In point of fact Vīrasena begins his introductory verses by recalling first his teacher (*vidyā-guru*), an *elācārya* (of Citrakūṭa according to Indranandi's *śrutāvatāra*, late 10th cent. A.D.), name not given. His *diṣkā-guru*, Āryanandi, and the latter's *guru* Candrasena, Virasena introduces a few

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verses later with no comment whatsoever.[10] According to his *teacher* Virasena's primacy rather than his initiating *preceptor* must have had some significance. Probably he did not rate the latter as a man of profound canonical learning. He possibly owed more to the *elācārya* of Citrakūṭa than to Āryanandi, which fact perhaps he might have felt obliged in this way to indicate.

(3) As gleaned from the *sthavirāvali* of the *Kalpasūtra* (older part *c.* A.D. 303-319, extended later in A.D. 453 or 467)[11] as well as the *sthavirāvali* of the *Nandi-sūtra* (*c.* A.D. 400-425)[12], it appears customary among the Śvetāmbaras to prefix an honorofic "Ārya" (indicative of nobility as well as monkhood) before the name of the *ācāryas* and important friars. The Yāpanīyas, too, up to a point, seem to have followed this convention.[13] The Digambara monks, on the other hand, seldom used the "Ārya" prefix, excepting perhaps in one rare and early instance denoting "Ārya-kula", available from Northern India.[14] In the South, when they did, the "Ārya" denomination became part of the personal name[15]; indeed it was then not specifically meant to be an address of honour or even an indicator of monkhood. Āryanandi,—guru of Vīrasena,—therefore, is not "Ārya Nandi" who has been called *mahāvācaka* as well as *kṣamāśramaṇa* and whose viewpoints have been cited in the *Dhavalā* and the *Jayadhavalā*. Indeed, the commentators seem to have a different person, an ancient rather than contemporaneous, scholiast in mind.

(4) Svāmī Vīrasena avers that Yati Vṛṣabha was an "*antevāsi*"[16] of Ārya Nāgahasti and Ārya Maṅkṣu. Yati Vṛṣabha, significantly, says nothing about it in his *cūrni-sūtra* commentary of the *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta*, even as he shows awareness of the variance in the intent or viewpoints in the *upadeśa* of the two teachers. Yati Vṛṣabha remarks that Ārya Maṅkṣu's school (*upadeśa*) found no propagation (*apavāijjaṁta*, Skt. *apravāhyamāna*), while that of Ārya Nāgahasti did.[17] A contemporaneous person could not have judged this happening so readily; for such an observation can be made only at some distance in time when facts covering an observable phenomenon have become known and fully established. Under the circumstances, it is doubtful whether Yati Vṛṣabha had directly learnt from the two Śvetāmbara pontiffs who flourished in times not later than the second century A.D.[18] In any case Yati Vṛṣabha's own lucid and learned commentary betrays advances in style, systematization and scholasticism not known of in earlier times.[19] Svāmī Vīrasena, and for that matter Jinasena, seemingly also had before them some other earlier commentary (or commentaries) on the *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta* in which were quoted and discussed the viewpoints of Ārya Nāgahasti, Ārya Maṅkṣu (i.e. Maṅgu or Māghahasti) and Ārya Nandi. This, coupled with Yati Vṛṣabha's awareness about them, may have led to an assumption that he was a direct disciple of Nāgahasti *kṣamāśramaṇa* and Māghahasti *kṣamāśramaṇa*. And such a commentary (or commentaries) has (or have) to be Yāpanīya (if not Śvetāmbara); for Yāpanīyas recognized and largely followed the earlier *āgamas* of the Jainas which were *in toto* rejected by the Digambara sect. From the evidence at hand, Digambaras had no direct access to the Śvetāmbara *āgamas*[20] but they probably were familiar with their analogues, the Yāpanīya *āgamas*. After all, Yāpanīyas lived in large number in South India, particularly in Kuntaladesa, and very often in the same towns where the Digambaras lived. (Yati

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Vṛṣabha, to all seeming, was an early northern Yāpanīya.)[21] The Digambara church had in course of time adopted a few ancient Yāpanīya works such as the *Ārādhanā* (5th-6th cent. A.D.), the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakere (*c.* 6th cent. A.D.)[22] and the like. The *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta* apparently had been admitted in the fold of Digambara canon at some unspecified but earlier time, evidently before Vīrasena.

Like Ārya Māghahasti and Ārya Nāgahasti, the third pontiff quoted by Vīrasena, namely Ārya Nandi with his epithets *mahāvācaka* and *kṣamāśramaṇa*, is also likely to be a Śvetāmbara pontiff. That this must be so is conclusively indicated by the name Ajja Nandila *khamaṇa* (Ārya Nandila *śramaṇa*) figuring between Ajja Maṅgu and Ajja Nāgahatthi in the sequence given in the *sthavirāvali* of the *Nandi-sūtra.*[23] The appelation "Nandila" is a variant of "Nandi". For the South Indian Digambara (as well as Yāpanīya) writers, the latter form was more familiar as a personal nomen's ending[24] : which explains their preference to the form "Nandi" rather than "Nandila."

The view somewhat similar to Pt. Hiralal Jain's had been earlier expressed by Pt. Kailash Chandra Jain,[25] who felt that the application of the epithet *vācaka* was not confined to any single tradition. Had it been so, the author of the *Jayadhavalā* would not have decorated Guṇadhara with the epithet *vācaka* and his own *guru* (*sic*) Āryanandi with that of *mahāvācaka.* So, by the mere application of the epithet *mahāvācaka*, Guṇadharācārya cannot be identified as a scholiast of the Śvetāmbara tradition.[26] However, as demonstrated in the foregoing, Jinasena did not apply the epithet *mahāvācaka* to his *guru's guru* Āryanandi; Second, there is no evidence that Guṇadhara (if the appelation is correct) belonged to the Digambara tradition. We moreover, know nothing about the position of the Digambara Church in the pre-Gupta times in Northern India. The Śvetāmbara pontiffs Ārya Māghahasti and Ārya Nāgahasti could never have gone to study with a Digambara scholiast. And the epithet *vācaka* applied to Guṇadhara only proves that, if he were an historical personage, he did not belong to the Digambara sect. If the epithets *vācaka*, *mahāvācaka* (and for that matter *kṣamāśramaṇa*) ever were applied to the learned friars of the Digambara Church, the fact must be reflected in early Digambara inscriptions and eulogistic colophons of the literary works. There is, in point of fact no such instance so far known. It would be equally erroneous to assume that Yati Vṛṣabha was a Digambara scholiast. He was, to all seeming, a Yāpanīya and hence familiar with the early Śvetāmbara texts and the Śvetāmbara exponents of the *āgamic* canon.

From this discussion it is clear that the *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta*, though now not available in the Śvetāmbara canon, was originally with it in the early centuries of the Christian era.[27] The Yāpanīya friar Yati Vṛṣabha wrote an extensive and lucid commentary on it, possibly some time in the third or the fourth century A.D. if not still later. There were also other commentaries written before and possibly even after Yati Vṛṣabha, which actually quoted the opinions, interpretations, or viewpoints of the three ancient Śvetāmbara *vācaka* pontiffs, namely Ārya Maṅkṣu or Maṅgu (Māghahasti), Ārya Nāgahasti, and Ārya Nandi(la). The citations on the *upadeśa* ascribed to them might have been drawn directly from the trio's original writings by earlier commentators,

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or some quotations therein were available through secondary sources still known or available in the days of Virasena and Jinasena.[28]

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1. *Cf.* Hiralal Jain and A.N. Upadhye, (Editors), *Shatkhandagam*, First Volume, Sholapur 1973.
2. The editors place the date of the work between A.D. 87-126. The said date, however, is unsupportable by internal as well as external evidence : *cf.* my article, "The Date of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama" shortly to appear in the *Sambodi*, Ahmedabad.
3. *Cf.* Pt. Hiralal Jain (Editor), *Kasāya Pāhuḍa Sutta*, Calcutta 1955.
4. The commentary of Yati Vṛṣabha possesses developed elements in material as well as exposition : The author, hence, could not have belonged to the early centuries of Christian era, despite editors' assertion.
5. Pt. Hiralal Jain (pp. 49-50) has extracted the following examples from the commentary :
   कम्मट्ठिदि त्ति अणियोगद्दारे हि भण्णमाणे वे उवदेसा होंति। जहण्णुक्कस्सट्ठिदीणं पमाणपरूवणा कम्मट्ठिदिपरूवणे त्ति **णागहत्थि-खमासमणा** भणंति। **अज्जमंखुखमासमणा** पुण कम्मट्ठिदिपरूवणे त्ति भणंति। एवं दोहि उवदेसेहि कम्मट्ठिदिपरूवणा कायव्वा। (धवला. अ. १४४०) एत्थ दुवे उवएसा. . **महावाचयाणमज्जमंखुखवणाणमुवदेसेण** लोगपूरिदे आउगसमाण णामा-गोद-वेदणीयाणं ट्ठिदिसंत-कम्मं ठवेदि। **महावाचयाणं णागहत्थि-खवणाणसवएसेण** लोग पूरिदे णामा-गोद-वेदणीयाणं ट्ठिदिसंतकम्मं अंतोमुहुत्तपमाणं होदि।

   (जयध. अ. १२३६.)

   महावाचयाणमज्जमंखुसमणाणमुवदेसेण.....**महावाचयाणमज्जणंदीणं** उवदेसेणं। (धवला. अ. १४५७.) **महावाचया अज्जिणंदिणो** संतकम्मं करेंति। ट्ठिदिसंतकम्मं पयासंति। (**धवला.** अ. १४५८.)

   अज्जमंखु-णागहत्थि-महावाचय-मुहकमल-विणिग्गएण सम्मत्तस्स। (**जयध.** अ. ९७३.)

   (*Cf.* Hiralal Jain and A.N. Upadhye, The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. II, Sholapur 1976, "Intro. (Hindi)", p. 36.)
6. *Cf.* my article "Bhadrāryācārya ane Dattilācārya" (Gujarātī), Svadhyaya, Vol. 18, No. 2, Feb. 1981, p. 161.
7. *Shatkhandagam*, First Volume, "Intro. (Hindi)", p. 50.
8. The honorific *kṣamāśramaṇa* is for the first time seen applied to the pontiffs figuring in the later part of the extended part of the *sthavirāvali* (Valabhī Council : A.D. 453 or 467) of the *Kalpasūtra*. Therein are mentioned :

   Deśī gaṇi *kṣamāśramaṇa*
   |
   Sthiragupta *kṣamāśramaṇa*
   |
   Sthavira Kumāradharma
   |
   (and) Devarddhi (gaṇi) *kṣamāśramaṇa*

   On the average, the date of the Deśī gaṇi *kṣamāśramaṇa* would be last quarter of the 4th cent. A.D. The *Nandi-sūtra sthavirāvali* only at one place uses the epithet *kṣamāśramaṇa*, for Ārya Himavanta, *guru* of Ārya Nāgārjuna (early 4th cent. A.D.). The pre-medieval writers refer to Mallavādi, the author of the *Dvādaśāra-naya-cakra* (5th or 6th cent. A.D.) as *kṣamāśramaṇa*. The epithet in fact continued to be used throguh the sixth to about the beginning of the eighth century. For example Saṅghadhāsa gaṇi *kṣamāśramana* who wrote the *bhāṣya*-commentaries on *Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra* and *Pañcakalpa* in mid 6th cent. A.D. ; his contemporary Ṛṣigupta *kṣamāśramaṇa*,—the guru of Agastyasiṁha who wrote his *cūrṇi*-commentary on the *Daśvaikālika sūtra* in 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. A.D. Then would come the illustrious Jinabhadra gaṇi *kṣamāśramaṇa* (*vācanācārya* according to a

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contemporary bronze image inscription from Ākoṭā) who passed away in A.D. 595. His junior contemporary Siddhasena has also been styled as *kṣamāśramaṇā*. (Probably he was the disciple of Jinabhadra gaṇi.) Siddhasena's contemporary was Siṁhasūri *kṣamāśramaṇa* who wrote his famous commentary on the aforenoted *Nayacakra* of Mallavādi Sūri sometime early in the 7th cent. A.D. ; and then we may include Pradumna *kṣamāśramaṇa* (mid 7th cent. A.D.), the teacher of Jinadāsa gaṇi *mahattara*. (Jinadāsa completed his *Nandi-cūrṇi* in Ś.S. 598/A.D. 677.) The last to be addressed as *kṣamāśramaṇa* was perhaps Vaṭeśvara, grand-preceptor of Udyottana Sūri who completed his *Kuvalayamālā-kahā* in A.D. 778. [It seems that from the early seventh to the early ninth century, the epithet *mahattara* became increasingly popular and replaced *kṣamāśramaṇa*. As examples we may cite Śivacandra *mahattara* (early 7th cent. A.D.), Gopāla gaṇi *mahattara* (7th cent. A.D.), Jinadāsa gaṇi *mahattara* (latter half of the 7th cent. A.D.), Siddha *mahattara* (7th-8th cent. A.D.), Yakṣa *mahattara* (early 8th cent. A.D.), Della *mahattara* (early 9th cent. A.D.), Candrarṣi *mahattara* (9th cent. A.D.), and so forth.]

The honorific *vācaka* and *mahāvācaka* for the pontiffs we first meet in a few Jaina inscription of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā, datable *c.* late 1st cent. A.D. to late 3rd cent. A.D. Next we meet these in the colophon of the *bhāṣya* of Umāsvāti on the *Tattvārtha-sutra* (3rd-4th cent. A.D.) for some teachers in the lineage of authors' preceptor as well as teacher :

Dikṣā-guru	*Vidyā-guru*
Vācaka-mukhya Śivaśrī	*Mahāvācaka kṣamaṇa* muṇḍapāda
Ghoṣanandi kṣamaṇa	Mūla
Vācaka Umāsvāti *Vācanācārya*	

These epithets become rarer afterwards, though revived in the medieval period.

9. The inscriptions on the three images of the seated Jinas set up by the Gupta king Rāmagupta (*c.* A.D. 375) and discovered from Vidiśā, collectively refer to the *pāṇipātrika* (i.e. Yāpanīya nude pontiff) Candrakṣamaṇācārya who is qualified as *kṣamaṇa-śramaṇa*, indeed a variant of *kṣamāśramaṇa*. The images were set up by the king at the instance of Celū *kṣamaṇa*, the grand pupil of *ācārya* Candrakṣamaṇa :

Pāṇipātrika Candrakṣamaṇācārya *kṣamaṇa-śramaṇa*
|
Sarpasena *kṣamaṇa*
|
Celū *kṣamaṇa*

(*Cf.* G.S. Gai, "Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 250-251.)

१०. जस्स सेसाएण (पसाएण) मए सिद्धंतमिदं हि अहिलहुंदी (अहिलहुदं) ।
महु सो **एलाइरियो** पसियउ वर **वीरसेणस्स** ॥ १ ॥
वंदामि उसहसेणं तिहुवण-जिय-बंधवं सिवं संतं ।
णाण-किरणावहासिय-सयल-इयर-तम-पणासियं दिट्ठं ॥ २ ॥
अरहंतपदो (अरहंतो) भगवंतो सिद्धा सिद्धा पसिद्ध आइरिया ।
साहू साहू य महं पसियंतु भडारया सव्वे ॥ ६ ॥
अज्जज्जगंदिसिस्सेणुज्जुव-कम्मस्स चंदसेणस्स ।
तह णत्तुवेण पंचत्थुहण्यंभाणुणा मुणिणा ॥ ४ ॥
सिद्धत-छंद-जोइस-वायरण-पमाण-सत्थ-णिवुणेण ।
भट्टारएण टीका लिहिएसा **वीरसेणेण** ॥ ५ ॥
(*Cf.* Hiralal Jain, *Shatkhandagam, Hindi-Intro.*, p. 31.)

11. *Cf.* Muni Darshanvijay, *Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya*, Viramgam 1933, pp. 1-11.
12. *Cf.* Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, *Nandi suttam*, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad 1966, pp. 7-10.

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13. For instance in the eulogy of Śivārya, the author of *Ārādhanā*, is given the hagiological sequence of his preceptor wherein is used the prefix Ārya for the pontiffs concerned and also *gaṇi* or *sūri* for some, a convention largely met with in the Śvetāmbara sect also, but seldom, if at all, in the Digambara Church :

Ārya Jinanandi gaṇi
|
Ārya Sarvagupta gaṇi
|
Ārya Mitranandi
|
Pāṇi-tala-bhojī Śivārya (5th-6th cent. A.D.)

The commentator Aparājita Sūri's list of predecessors, as he gives, is as follows :

Candranandi (*mahāprakṛtyācārya*)
|
Baladeva Sūri
|
Aparājita Sūri (8th cent. A.D.)

(*Cf.* Nathuram Premi, "Yāpanīyoñ-kā Sāhitya" (Hindi), *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Saṁśodhita-Sāhitya-mālā, Vol. I, sec. ed., Bombay 1956, pp. 56-73; and *Ibid.*, "Ārādhanā aur uskī ṭīkayeñ" (Hindi), pp. 74-80.)

14. The Vidiśā Jain Cave Inscription : *cf. The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 310.
15. The names such as Āryasena, Āryanandi, etc.
(Cf. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, Jivaraja Jaina Granthamālā, No. 61, Sholapur 1957, pp. 106, 134-135 and 137.)
16. *Antevāsi* means a disciple who lives with and serves the preceptor.
17. Pt. Hiralal Jain, *Kasāya Pāhūḍa Sūtta*, Calcutta 1955, Hindi-Introduction, p. 6.
18. Two Mathurā inscriptions, one of the year 52 (+78=A.D. 130) and the other of the year 54 (+78=A.D. 132) refer respectively to Ārya Maṅguhasti and Ārya Māghahasti, the same person, of course, as gleaned from other associated details. Possibly this pontiff is identical with the one mentioned in the *Nandi-sūtra sthavirāvali* as Ārya Maṅgu and as Ārya Maṅkṣu in the *Dhavālā* and the *Jayadhavalā*.
19. Yati Vṛṣabha combines the styles and approaches of *niryukti*, *bhāṣya*, and *vṛtti* in his exposition, which is also more systematic than known of in the *āgamas* proper.
20. The āgamic *gāthās* figuring in the Digambara writings often reveal variations in phrasing and choice of words when compared to the corresponding Śvetāmbara *āgamas*.
21. The *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya (3rd-4th cent. A.D.), a Yāpanīya work earlier noted, at one place indirectly refers to him as the one who had borne "intolerable suffering." The Yāpanīya commentator Aparājita Sūri (*c.* 8th cent. A.D.) identifies this monk as Yati Vṛṣabha. The *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, a Digambara work of A.D. 933, narrates the anecdote of his tragic death in Śrāvastī. (*Cf.* Premi, pp. 20-22).
22. The Digambara Jainas living in South India practically had no early *āgamic* literature on the discipline (*ācāra*) of the monks (*cf.* Premi, p. 48), and Śvetāmbaras had several beginning with the *Ācārāṅga* (3rd cent. B.C.), the *Daśavaikālika* (1st cent. B.C.), the *Niśitha* (1st cent. A.D.), the *Kalpa* (*c.* A.D. 303-313) and the *Vyavahāra* (*c.* A.D. 303-313). The *Ārādhanā* and the *Mūlācāra* were fresh compositions by the Yāpaniyas (based of course on older *āgamic* works) and they did not bear the āgamic suffix "*aṅga*". This may have made it easier for the Digambaras eventually to recognize and adopt them. This problem of borrowals of entire works by the Digambaras is indeed much too complicated and needs separate investigation. Also, the Yāpanīyas' own ancient writings are in the Śaurasena Prākṛta and not in Ardhamāgadhī of the Śvetāmbara canon, a problem that also needs some deeper thinking. The Digambaras, too, adopted Śaurasena Prākṛta in their own Prakrit writings till they switched over to a form of Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.

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२३. भणगं करगं झरगं पभावगं णाण-दंसणगुणाणं ।
वंदामि अज्जमंगुं सुयसागरपारगं धीरं ।। २८ ।।
णाणम्मि दंसणम्मि य तव विणए णिच्चकालमुज्जुत्तं ।
अज्जाणंदिलखमणं सिरसा वंदे पसण्णमणं ।। २९ ।।
वड्ढउ वायगवंसो जसवंसो अज्जणागहत्थीणं ।
वागरण-करण-भंगिय-कम्मप्पयडीपहाणाणं ।। ३० ।।

24. The Jaina inscriptions from Karṇāṭaka, in very large number as well as from their earliest examples, reveal nandi-ending names for the monks.
25. *Cf.* Hindi Introduction to the *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta*, Part 1, (editors Pt. Ful Chandra, Pt. Mahendra Kumar and Pt. Kailash Chandra,) Mathura 1944, p. 68.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Vīrasena says that Arya Maṅkṣu and Ārya Nāgahasti learnt the same *sutta* from Ācārya Guṇadhara. Vīrasena's pupil Jinasena says that the (aforenoted) two scholiasts acquired it through tradition, the original work was composed by Guṇadhara. The date of Guṇadhara is generally placed by the recent Digambara Jaina writers to about the first century B.C. I suspect that the word *guṇadhara* has been at some stage misread as *Guṇadhara*. Indranandi in his *Śrutāvatāra* (late 10th cent. A.D.) even went as far as saying that among the *gaṇas* founded by Arhadbali (who flourished in 3rd cent. A.D.) there was one named after *Guṇadhara*. There is no evidences at all of such a *gaṇa* either from other literary sources or from inscriptions, early or late. Let us consider this point in depth. The Yāpaniyas possibly had separated from the Śvetāmbaras, some time in the second century A.D. The *Āvaśyaka cūrṇī's* reference to "Boṭika" (interpreted by later commentators as "Digambara") in the first instance may be meant for "Yāpanīya". The anecdote of the origin of "Boṭika" narrated by Jinabhadra *gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa* in the *Viśeṣa-Āvaśyaka-bhāṣya* (*c.* A.D. 580-590) refers to Śivabhūti, a disciple of Ārya Kṛṣṇa (*c.* 2nd cent. A.D.) who separated from his preceptor on the issue of the propriety or otherwise of covering the body with a cloth piece by a Jaina monk. Although Śivabhūti dispensed with cloth and embraced the nudist path, there is no reference to his rejecting the *āgamas*. This Śivabhūti is possibly the founder of the Yāpanīya sect. And this is how, perhaps, the Yāpanīya sect inherited the Svetāmbara *āgamas* as they were before the Mathurā recension of A.D. 301-313. And this is possibly how Yati Vṛṣabha, an early Yāpanīya friar, had the knowledge of the *Kasāya-pāhuḍa-sutta* on which he later extensively commented. This would also explain some differences in reading of the Śvetāmbara and the Yāpanīya *āgamas*, the Śvetāmbara *āgamas* had two subsequent recensions, one in Mathurā (*c.* A..D. 303—319) and the next in Valabhi (*c.* A.D. 454 or 467).
28. If these commentators were Śāmakuṇḍa and Tumbalūr, they are likely to be Yāpanīya as Vaṭṭakere, the author of the *Mūlācāra*, was. Being Yāpanīya, they may have some earlier source before them which contained information on Ārya Nāgahasti and other pontiffs. These latter Śvetāmbara *ācāryas* apparently belonged to the times when Yāpanīyas still had not separated from the Śvetāmbaras.

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16

Vasudeva-Krsna Cult–The Early Phase

K.D. BAJPAI

The literary and archaeological source-material furnishes evidence to the worship of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa much before the beginning of the Christian era. In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī (about c. 500 B.C.), traces of the worship of Vāsudeva are discernible.[1] The commentator Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) refers to the '*Vāsudevakas*' (followers of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa).[2] In his work *Mahābhāṣya* mention is made of the temples of Keśava, Rāma (Balarāma) and Kubera, which were in existence during his time. The references in the *Mahābhāṣya* to the dramatic performances of *Balivandhana, Kaṁsa-vadha*, etc. are also noteworthy.

The *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Purāṇas* and some other early works contain interesting accounts of Kṛṣṇa's life. On account of his various extraordinary acts he came to be regarded as a divine being, born for the upliftment of righteousness and for destruction of evil.

He was identified with the supreme being Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, one of the chief Vedic deities, whose traits eminently existed in Kṛṣṇa. The *Mahābhārata* (VIII, 4.39) calls Kṛṣṇa 'Nārāyaṇa-Gopa'. The *Harivaṁśa* (II. 25.21) gives the designation 'Gopaveśa Viṣṇu' to Kṛṣṇa. This work also describes Kṛṣṇa as two-handed, bearing the *āyudhas cakra* and *gadā* in each of his hands.[3]

The early forms of this deity found in the stone sculptures in several parts of the country can be said to represent Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu. The earliest stone image has been discovered at Malhār (District Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh). It is a four-handed life-size statue carved in the round, similar to the archaic Yakṣa statues. It stands erect (*samabhaṅga*) on a stone pedestal. The upper part of the deity is bare. The lower part wears a garment of plam leaves, indicating its *gopa-veṣa* of Mathura.[4] The head wears a crown, which is much mutilated. It was probably formed with leaves and flowers. One of the right hands holds a heavy mace and the left holds a *cakra*. The rest two hands held a conch, which is also disfigured due to the chiselling of the upper portion of the image at the hands of some later miscreants. There is a small sword attached to the waist on the left.

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The image is inscribed in the early Mauryan Brāhmī script. The one line inscription incised on the mace is very well preserved. The inscription states that the image was caused to be made by one lady Bhāradvājā, wife of Parṇadatta.[5]

This image from Malhār is the most remarkable early representation of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, having four hands. For the study of evolution of the iconography of this deity, it is extremely important.

A few rare silver coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles (2nd cent. B.C.) have recently been discovered at Ai Khanum in Afghanistan.[6] The obverse of these coins show Lord Kṛṣṇa standing and holding prominent *cakra* in his left hand. A big sheathed sword hangs from his waistband to the left. The *chatra* (parasol) over his head is also of palm leaves. The name of the ruler is written in the Aśokan Brāhmī as *Agathuklayesa*. On the reverse of the coin is shown standing Balarāma. He holds a *hala* in the raised right hand and a *musala* in the raised left hand. The sword is shown hanging from the left side. The palm leaf parasol over his head is slightly smaller than that of Kṛṣṇa. The Greek legend on the reverse reads *Basileos Agathocleos*.

The similarities of several features noted in the Malhar image and the figure of Kṛṣṇa on the coins of Agathocles are remarkable indeed.

It may be pointed out here that the three *āyudhas*, viz. *cakra*, *gadā* and *asi* associated with Kṛṣṇa signify his valour of a great warrior. *Śaṅkha* (conch) represents his victory over the evil forces. These attributes and his chivalrous deeds are noticeable in the images of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu discovered at Mathurā, Bhītargaon, Śrāvastī, Deogarh, Garhwā, Eran, Pahārpur, Khajuraho, Mandor, Bādāmī and several other sites of the country.

Scholars have generally thought that the cult images of Kṛṣṇa are conspicuously lacking in early Indian art. But the fact has to be emphasised that the so-called early Viṣṇu images, found in different parts of the country, represent essentially the Vāsudeva form of the deity. A correct designation for these images can be that of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu. The majority of these images are four-handed. A few images of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā show him eight-handed holding various *āyudhas* in the hands. Some images are only two-handed, indicating the human aspect of the deity.

Indian plastic and pictorial art sumptuously depicts Kṛṣṇa's early life of Braja in its variegated forms. His life of Kurukṣetra, Dwārakā and other places finds much less place in the rich art traditions.

The inscriptional evidence pertaining to the subject is of considerable importance. The stone inscriptions from Ghosuṇḍī and Nagarī in Rajasthan clearly indicate that the cult images and temples of Vāsudeva existed about 200 B.C. This tradition may have started there earlier to this date. The well-known Besnagar pillar inscription shows that a temple of this deity existed in Vidiśā in the 2nd century B.C. The evidence of the Mathurā records indicates that the institution of the five heroes of the Vṛṣṇis had been established in that region in the early Śuṅga period. The Mandsaur inscription (dated Vikrama Saṁ 461) of king Naravarman offers an excellent eulogy to the great god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

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Mathurā, the chief centre of early Bhāgavatism, has yielded important stone inscriptions which throw welcome light on the subject. Two inscriptions of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa (1st century B.C.) refer to the construction of a shrine for Vāsudeva Viṣṇu along with the excavation of a tank, creation of a reservoir, a garden, railing and gateway, a pillar and stone statue by a person called Mūlavasu, who was the treasurer of king Śodāsa of Mathurā. This temple of Vāsudeva is one of the earliest such structures built up in honour of this deity.

A new stone inscription has recently been discovered near a hamlet called Mirjapur in the southern outskirts of the present Mathurā town. The inscription is incised in large and bold Brāhmī letters. The record mentions that a lady named Pakṣakā, who was the wife of Mūlavasu, treasure of king Śoḍāsa, caused the excavation of a water tank and also the creation of a garden, an assembly hall, a well, a pillar and a slab bearing the image of *Śrī* (Lakṣmī). The new inscription shows that the image of Lakṣmī was installed near a shrine of Vāsudeva. This new inscription furnishes a significant evidence, indicating that the early cult images of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu and Śrī Lakṣmī were known in Mathurā during the 1st century B.C.

During the Kṣatrapa-Kuṣāṇa hegemony in Mathurā, much advancement was made in the sculptural art. Images of deities like Vāsudeva, Lakṣmī, Vasudhārā, Śiva, Kubera, etc. were made. A recently discovered stone inscription from Mathurā refers to the worship of god Maheśvara (Śiva).[7] It is written in the Kusāṇa Brāhmī script and records the gift of a water tank, garden, assembly hall, stone tablet and a temple (of Śiva) by one Kautsīputra Māgaka. This is a very early reference to the temple of Maheśvara Śiva at Mathurā. The description of the objects created at the spot is similar to that found in other inscriptions mentioned above.

REFERENCES

1. *Aṣṭādayāyī*, IV, 3, 68.
2. This is confirmed by other sources also, such as the Buddhist works *Niddesa* and *Milindapañha.*
3. *Harīvaṁśa*, II, 25.26.
4. Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* (I, 15) gives an interesting description of this form of Kṛṣṇa.
5. For details see K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Malhār* (Sagar, 1978), p. 27, plate 10.
6. See A.K. Narain's article in *JNSI*, Vol. 35 (1973) pp. 73-77; also Doris Srinivasan in *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 32 (1979), pp. 39-54; fig. 23-24.
7. I am thankful to Sri R.C. Sharma, Director, State Museum, Lucknow for the information about the new inscriptions from Mathura.

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17

Devaladharmasutra on Aisvaryas

LALLANJI GOPAL

Besides the published *dharmasūtras* of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gautam, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu and Vaikhānasa, there were other texts belonging to this class of Vedic literature. They are no longer available in the form of complete texts. From the *Tantra-vārttika*[1] of Kumārila we learn about the *dharmasūtras* of Śaṅkha-likhita and Hārīta. There is no authentic list of the authors of *dharmasūtras*, hence we cannot be sure about the *dharmasūtras* which have been lost in the course of centuries.

We have undoubted evidence to establish that there was a *dharmasūtra* under the name of Devala.[2] Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philospher, makes a clear reference to the *dharmasūtra* of Devala.[3] It can be easily seen that the text was available in that period. Śaṅkara takes a special note of the pronounced emphasis which the *Devala-dharmasūtra* gave to the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *pradhāna* being the cause of the world and makes a determined effort to refute it.

Many quotations from the *Devala-dharmasūtra* have survived in medieval commentaries and digests. Naturally our account of the original *Devaladharmasūtra* will depend on the passages that have come down to us. The authors of the commentaries and digests had their own reasons to choose some passages from the *Devaladharmasūtra* and ignore others. Within the limitations of the surviving passages, we can form a rough idea of the contents of the *Devaladharmasūtra* and its emphasis on certain topics.

The quotations create the impression that the original *Devaladharmasūtra* was by no means a small text. It seems that the text gave a wide coverage to Śaṅkhya and Yoga. Long quotations on many aspects of the principles and practices of these systems are preserved in medieval commentaries and digests.

The *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* written by Lakṣmīdhara, who was a minister under King Govindacandra (A.D. 1113-1154) of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, reproduces a long quotation from Devala on *aiśvaryas*[4] or divine faculties. Chapter 22 of this *nibandha* text deals with *Yogavibhūtis*. The only other authority quoted in this chapter is Yājñavalkya whose two verses are the same as *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, III. 202-203. Thus, in effect the chapter in the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* is based on the text of Devala. Lakṣmīdhara has given a number of quotations from Devala, some of which are very

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long. These quotations are scattered in different *Kāṇḍas* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and deal with different topics coming under the purview of a *dharmasūtra*. It is clear that the full text of the *Devaladharmasūtra* was available to Lakṣmīdhara.

The other *nibandha* writer who reproduces this passage on *aiśvaryas* is Mitramiśra, whose literary activity is placed in the first half of the seventeenth century on the ground that he mentions the great-grandson of Vīrasiṃha (A.D. 1605-1627), King of Orchha.[5] The passage occurs in the *Mokṣaprakāśa* which is the last section of his *Vīramitrodaya*. The *Mokṣaprakāśa* has not been published as yet. Its only available manuscript was used by K.V.R. Aiyangar for comparison in editing the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*.[6] The *Mokṣaprakāśa* 'is a mere elaboration of the *Mokṣakāṇḍa*' of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and 'absorbs large slices of the latter's digest.'[7] Hence the testimony of the *Mokṣaprakāśa* does not have much usefulness and is without any independent value. We cannot argue, merely on the basis of the quotations from Devala occurring in the *Vīramitrodaya*, that the text of the *Devaladharmasūtra* survived upto the seventeenth century.

The importance given to Devala by Lakṣmīdhara on the question of *aiśvaryas* shows that, according to the latter, the narrative by Devala was the best and the most authentic. It possibly formed a separate chapter in the *Devaladharmasūtra*. But we have no means of checking the title of this chapter on *aiśvaryas*. Lakṣmīdhara has labelled the chapter in his *Mokṣakāṇḍa* as *Yogavibhūtis* (or superhuman powers acquired through Yoga). The term *Yogavibhūti* signifies *aiśvarya*.[8] Lakṣmīdhara, who formulated his chapter on the subject mostly on the basis of the long passage from Devala, possibly adopted the title as well from the *Devaladharmasūtra*.

The passage is in the form of mixed prose and verses. In the beginning we have *sūtras*, which are followed by nine verses.

The passage beings with an enumeration of eight *aiśvaryaguṇas*. Considering the characteristic style reflected in the extant passages of the *Devaladharmasūtra* we can speculate that the chapter began with a pronouncement of *aiśvaryas* as the objective for a *yogī*, possibly followed by a definition of *aiśvarya* in the Yogic context.

The eight *aiśvaryaguṇas* enumerated by Devala are *aṇimā* (atomization, the power to become as small as an atom), *mahimā* (magnification, the power to magnify the body), *laghimā* (lavitation, the power to make the body excessively light), *prāpti* (extension, the power to reach all things in the world), *prākāmyam*, (irrestible will, the power to do things according to his desire), *īśitvam* (unobstructed supreme power), *vāśitvam* (mastery or subjugation) and *yatrakāmāvasāyitvam* (infallibility of purpose, entertaining desires and purposes which come to be realised invariably). These are grouped under two classes: *aṇimā*, *mahimā*, and *laghimā* are called *śārīras* (as they are related to the size of the body), whereas the remaining five are termed *aindriyas* (as they are related to the sense organs). The passage goes on to explain the eight *aiśvaryaguṇas*. Its style in the case of each of these eight *aiśvaryas* is first to explain it very briefly and succinctly and then to describe the superhuman power actually achieved through it. In the case of the last *yatra-kāmāvasāyitvam*, the passage mentions its three types, *chāyāveśa*, *avadhyāveśa* and *aṅgapraveśa*, and explains their nature and then goes on to describe the

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superhuman power acquired though *yatra-kāmāvasāyitvam*. The concluding *sūtra* says that having thus acquired these qualities of superhuman power, a person, shaking off sins, cutting doubts, directly perceiving everything, knowing the higher and lower *dharma*, becoming steady and having known that all this is non-existent and transient, spontaneously acquires peace—this is a partial inherence of *aiśvarya*.

The concept of supernatural powers or *siddhis* is noticed in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra*.[9] The *Yogasūtra*[10] of Patañjali mentions *aṇimā* and other *aiśvaryas* as one of the three fruits resulting from a control over the elements. Vyāsa in his *bhāṣya* enumerates the eight *siddhis* and explains their nature. In the allied system of Śāṅkhya also *aiśvaryas* naturally got a place.[11] The list of eight *siddhis* or *aiśvaryas* is found in many texts.[12] The list in *Prapañcasāra*[13] drops *Yatrakāmāvasāyitva* and instead adds *garimā*. Among the early texts none gives such a detailed account of the *aiśvaryas*, explaining them and bringing out their significance, as has been done by Devala.

The nine verses suffixed to the prose passage delineate the merit and powers accruing from a pursuit of the Yogic discipline. The first five verses in literary style bring out the difference between a weak *Yogī* and a strong *yogī*. Through the simile of fire, it is said that a weak *yogī* perishes under the weight of *Yoga*, but, he, whose powers have been augmented by *Yoga*, can transform the world. Like a weak person swept by a stream, a weak *yogī* is drawn helplessly towards objects, but a strong *yogī* controlls them. A *Yogī*, endowed with the powers of *yoga*, enters *prajāpati*, sages, gods and the five primary elements. He is not governed by Yama, Antaka or Death. Assuming thousands of forms, he roams on the earth. Through some he obtains the objects and through others he performs difficult penances, and finally withdraws them.

These nine verses are almost identical with verses 19 to 27 in chapter 289 of the *Śāntiparva* in the Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. There are, of course, certain minor variations in reading, which can be easily expected as changes creeping into the copies made by the scribes from time to time. The manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* are analysed as representing several versions which reflect the changes introduced in the text in different phases of its growth. Manuscripts belonging to the same phase, group or version, reveal variations within themselves. Hence we cannot expect a total confirmity with the version accepted in the Critical edition. We compare below the readings of the verses in the *Devaladharmasūtra* (=Devala) and the *Mahābhārata* (=*Mbh*).

Verse 1—*Mbh* has *abalaḥ prabho for hi nu prabho* (The *Mokṣaprakāśa* has—*gabala prabhoḥ*. *Prabhoḥ* for *prabho* is one variant reading in *Mbh*).

Verse 2—*Mbh* reads *yadā* for *yathā*, *vahmir* for *bahir*, *punaḥ* for *pumān* and *mahīmapi* for *mahīmimām*. Of these, *yathā* and *mahimimām* occur as variant readings in the *Mbh*. The reading *punaḥ* in the *Mbh* is also supported by the *Mokṣaprakāśa* and two manuscripts of the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. We cannot understand why then K.V.R. Aiyangar preferred to retain the reading *pumān*.

Verse 3—For *na tvajāta*—the *Mbh* has the reading *tadvañjāta*—.Other changes in the *Mbh* are—*tejā* for—*tejo* and *samśoṣayet* for *samśodhayet*. The Devala readings of the second and third words occur in the variants recorded in the *Mbh*.

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Verse 4—The *Mbh* reads *yogo* for *yogi* and *hriyate* for *Kriyate*. On these only *yogī* of the Devala text can be traced in the variants listed in the Critical edition of the *Mbh*.

Verse 5—For *rāvaṇaḥ* the reading in the *Mbh* is *vāraṇaḥ*, which is definitely happier. The Devala reading is not supported by any manuscript of the *Mbh*.

Verse 6 –The *Mbh* reads *cāvaśāḥ Pārtha* in place of *paraśalyārtham* (*Mokṣaprakāśa* has *parabhogārtham*) and separates the compound in the second part of the first line as *Yogā Yoga–*. In both the cases no manuscript of the *Mbh* adopts the reading found in Devala.

Verse 7—It is identical with verse 25 in the *Mbh*.

Verse 8—The *Mbh*,reads *ātmanām ca* for *ātmānam tu* and *Yogaḥ* for *Yogam*. The Devala reading *ātmānam* and *Yogam* appear as variant readings in the *Mbh*.

Verse 9—The changes in the reading found in the *Mbh* are *caiva punaścogram* for *Kaiścit Kaiścidduḥkham*, *punaḥ Pārtha* for *punastāni* and—*guṇa*–for—*gaṇa*—. Of these, only *punastāni* is to be noticed in the variants recorded in the Critical edition.

Thus, we see that in most cases the readings in Devala have the support of some manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, even though in the Critical edition different readings have been preferred.

Now, the question is : which of the two, the *Devaladharma-sūtra* and the *Mahābhārata*, is the original and which is the borrower. The *Mokṣaprakāśa* of the *Vīramitrodaya* inserts *tathā* after verse 5, though all the nine verses are continuous in sense. This would create the impression, that two sets of verses (1—5 and 6—9) were taken from two places in the *Devaladharmasūtra*, and, because in the *Mahābhārata* they appear in a continuous sequence, the *Mahābhārata* borrowed them from the *Devaladharmasūtra*. But, the division of the verses in two groups is not supported by the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, which is earlier than the *Mokṣaprakāśa* and seems to have been copied by the latter.[14] Hence, it would be wrong to regard the *Mahābhārata* as the borrower.

It is not difficult to see as to which of the two texts was the borrower. In these verses we find the words *rājan* (Devala 1, 2, and 4), *prabho* (Devala 1) and *Bharatarṣabha* (Devala 8) in the vocative case. The context in the *Devaladharmasūtra* does not have any justification for the occurrence of these expressions. Clearly the verses are intended to be utterances addressed to a prince belonging to the dynasty of Bharata. This shows that the verses have their proper and original position in the *Mahābhārata* where they appear as part of the advice which Bhīṣma is said to have given to Yudhiṣṭhira. The verse preceding the verses in question in the *Mahābhārata* and also those following them show that the verses occur in their logical sequence. Verse 1 of Devala (*Mbh.*, XII.289. 19) seems to flow directly from *Mbh.*, XII. 289.18. Likewise, verses 28 and 29 in *Mbh.*, XII. 289 seem to be the logical continuation of the verses in question. It is further to be noted that two verses, as they occur in the *Mahābhārata*,[15] contain the name of Pārtha[16] in vocative case. The corresponding verses in the *Devaladharmasūtra* do not mention the name of Pārtha. Verse 6 has *paraśalyārtham* in place of *cāvaśāḥ Pārtha*[17] and verse 9 reads *punastāni* for *punaḥ Pārtha*. This change could have been done deliberately by

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the author of the *Devaladharmasūtra*. But, this would be a clumsy effort at concealing the borrowing, because other words (*rājan*, *prabho* and *Bharatarṣabha*), which do not suit the context in the *Devaladharmasūtra* and reveal the source of borrowing, were not retouched.

Verses 8 and 9 in Devala (=*Mbh*. XII. 289.26-27) are also quoted by Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on the *Brahmasūtra*.[18] He does not show that these verses occur in the *Devaladharmasūtra*.[19] As we have pointed out above, Śaṅkara was well acquainted with the *Dēvaladharmasūtra*. Hence, it can be inferred that he preferred to associate the verses only with their original source, the *Mahābhārata*, and not with the *Devāladharmasūtra*.

The consideration mentioned above do not leave any doubt about the verses in question having been borrowed from the *Māhābhārata*. A natural corollary of this will be to place the *Devaladharmasūtra* after the composition of chapter 289 (of the Critical edition) of the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.

But there can be an alternative explanation of the presence of the verses in Devala. Our only direct source of information about the verses is the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, and the *Mokṣaprakāśa* of the *Vīramitrodaya* has merely copied from it. It is not unlikely that Lakṣmīdhara had ascribed the *sūtras* to Devala and the verses to the *Mahābhārata*, but a copyist of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* at some stage omitted the reference to the *Mahābhārata* and fused the prose *sūtras* of Devala and the verses of the *Mahābhārata* into one and thus created the impression that these verses also formed part of the *Devaladharmasūtra*. We have pointed out in another context that in the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* there is a similar mistake in respect of another passage of the *Mahābhārata*, which is attributed to the *Brahmapurāṇa*.[20]

Another possibility is that though the nine verses did not appear in the original *Devaladharmasūtra*, when the text underwent revision in a later period, they were inserted in the text. If we believe that the name of Pārtha was deliberately dropped from verse 6 (and possibly also from verse 9), then the nine verses are to be taken as interpolations, the fact which interpolator tried to conceal. In that case the date of Chapter 289 of the *Śāntiparva* will be the lower limit for the revision of the Devala text or the interpolation of the verses in it. If any importance is to be attached to Saṅkara's silence about the association of these verses with Devala, then the interpolation will have to be dated very late, after Saṅkara but before Lakṣmīdhara.

Thus, on the basis of the nine verses on *aiśvaryas* occurring in the *Devaladharmasūtra*, as quoted in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, we can infer that though the original text was of an earlier period, it was revised by adding material from other sources sometime after the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārāta* came to acquire its present form including its chapters on Yoga.

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7. *Ibid.*, p. viii; see also p. 348.
8. *Amarakośa* I. 1.36—*Vibhūtir-bhūtir-aiśvaryam-aṇimādikam-aṣṭadhā.*
9. II. 9. 23.6-7.
10. III.45 – *Tatoṇimāḍiprādurbhāvaḥ Kāyasampattaddharmānabhighātasca.*
11. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 23.
12. *Amarakośa*, I. 1.36; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XI. 5.4-5.
13. XIX. 62-63.
14. The consideration which possibly swayed Mitramiśra to divide the verses in this manner was the fact that though the powers of a *Yogī* are glorified here, we have two clear points, one bringing out his powers when compared with a weak *Yogī* and the other mentioning some of his supernatural powers.
15. XII. 289, 24,27.
16. Pārtha is generally applied to Arjuna. But it is a metronymic and is applied alike to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna. It is derived from Pṛthā, the original name of Kuntī, who was the daughter of a Yādava prince Śura, but was adopted by his childless cousin Kunti or Kuntibhoja. Before her marriage with Pāṇḍu she became the mother of Karṇa, and after her marriage Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna were born to her. Pārtha is also used for *pārthiva* or a prince. Here Pārtha stands for Yudhiṣṭhira.
17. As we have seen above, this reading is not without a support from some manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata.*
18. I. 3.27.
19. Śaṅkara introduces the verses as *Tathā smṛtirapi.* It is to be noted that Śaṅkara in similar cases elsewhere also does not use the term *smṛti* to refer to a Dharmaśāstra text. In such cases *Smṛti* is used in juxtaposition to *śruti* and refers variously to *Mahābhārata, Gītā* and *Purāṇas.* The vocative form in *Bharatarṣabha* is retained in the verses.
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18

The Ramayana in the Canonical and non-Canonical Texts of the Buddhists and Jains

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

The *Rāmayaṇa* of Vālmiki was a tremendously popular epic from the very beginning. This is evident from the fact, that hundreds of later writers beginning from Bhāsa and Aśvaghoṣa, to Michael M.S. Dutta and Tagore of our times, were directly or indirectly influenced by this immensely readable and gentle epic. Even the bitterest enemies of the Brāhmaṇical religion viz. the Buddhists and the Jains, have sometimes openly, and sometimes surreptiously borrowed materials and ideas from this poem. This *Ādikāvya* like the *devatātmā Himālaya* has continued to feed the best and noblest minds of this vast sub-continent. In this dissertation, we will try to analyse the treatment of the characters and events of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in the literary texts of the Buddhists and Jains.

First, let us see what the Buddhist writers have to say on the persons and events, painted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. The well-known *Daśaratha Jātaka* (No. 461) has often been misunderstood by scholars, who think that the author of this Jātaka has actually followed a different tradition regarding Rāma, and not the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Nothing can be farther from the truth. A reading between the lines of the verse-section of this Jātaka and also its prose-portion, would show that the author of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* was well at home with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and especially its Second Book i.e. the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. It is true that the writer of the prose-section of this Jātaka has inadvertently represented Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā as brothers and sister; but there is no indication, whatsoever, in the older verse-section, that the poet of these verses, ever pictured them as such. Some overzealous modern scholars have made a lot of noise on this point. But it can be conclusively shown not only from the verse-section of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, but also from other Jātakas as well, that the poets of the original Jātaka stories never represented Rāma as the brother of Sītā. The following verse occurring in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (No. 547) proves that the poet of the Jātaka had no confusion regarding the relationship between Rāma and Sītā—

avaruddhassāhaṁ bhariyā rājaputtassa sirimato/
taṁ cāhaṁ nātimaññami, Rāmaṁ Sītā vanubbatā//

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Following is the translation by Cowell and Rouse—

I am a banisht prince's wife, a prince of glory fair,
As Sītā did for Rāma, so I for my husband care.

Apart from showing that Sītā was known as Rāma's wife and not his sister, this verse also indirectly testified that the author was more or less familiar with chapters 27 and 29 of the Ayodhyakāṇḍa. The present writer strongly maintains that while writing this verse, the poet of this Jātaka had almost the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in mind. The adjective *vanubbatā* is too close to the spirit of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be misinterpreted. We will not stop with this evidence only. The whole of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, as a matter of fact, is a resume of the Second Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The machinations of the mother of Bharata, the banishment of the prince, Bharata's attempts to bring back Rāma, and finally the incident of the 'slippers' all show how deeply familiar the author of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* was with the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. It is true that the writer of the prose-section of this Jātaka represents Daśaratha as the king of Banaras; but in the older verse-section there is no such indication. The last verse of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, is in our opinion, clearly influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This verse runs as follows :—

dasa vassasahassāni saṭṭhi vassasatāni ca|
kambugīvo mahābāhu Rāmo rajjamakarayīti||

Let us now compare this verse with the following *śloka* from the Yuddhakāṇḍa (131.106)—

daśa varṣasahasrāṇi daśa varṣaśatāni ca|
bhrātṛbhiḥ sahitah Śrīmān Rāmo rājyamakarāyat||

It needs little imagination to understand that the above-quoted Pāli verse is based on this Sanskrit *śloka* from the Sixth Book. The expression *daśa varṣasahasrāṇi* has been kept intact. The second part of the first line *saṭṭhi vassasatāni ca* too, agrees with that Sanskrit *śloka* with the difference, that instead of *daśa*, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we get *saṭṭhi*. Now, if we remember the predilection of the Jātaka poets, for the term 'sixteen', we can very well understand why Rāma has been described as having reigned for sixteen thousand years, instead or eleven, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Of course, the reign-period of Rāma as given in both the epics and the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, is clearly fantastic; but that is not our concern here. What we desire to show, is the similarity of the spirit of that particular Pāli verse with the above-quoted *śloka* from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The second part of the second line of the Pāli verse, is an exact rendering of the Sanskrit expression *Rāmo rājyamakārayat*. And the first part of the second line viz., *kambugīvo mahābāhu*, although absent in the above-quoted Sanskrit *śloka*, actually occurs elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (cf. *vipulaṁso mahābahuḥ kambugrīvo mahāhānuḥ*). So we find the poet of this Jātaka is fully indebted to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* so far as the above quoted Pāli verse is concerned. We have already seen that the *Daśaratha Jātaka* itself is almost a summary of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. Now, we want to go a little farther, to show that even in other places of the Jātakas, the Rāmāyaṇic influence is, by no means, rare. In the *Jayadissa Jātaka* (No. 513) we not only get a reference to the Daṇḍaka forest, but also to Rāma's 'fair-limbed' mother; and we are further told, how she had won salvation for her absent

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son when the latter sought the woods of Daṇḍaka. Any reader who is intimately familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa* will not fail to discern that the poet of the Jātaka here, has faithfully followed the 25th chapter of the Ayodhyākaṇḍa, where we find Kausalyā, the mother of Rāma, invoking the gods to protect her dear son from animals and goblins in the forest. Names of some of the gods invoked by Kausalyā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also occur in this Jātaka viz., those of Soma, Varuṇa and Sūrya. It is significant to note that like the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage, we find in the Jātaka verse the epithet *Rājā* applied to Varuṇa. A careful comparison of the relevant passages of the *Jayadissa Jataka* and the above-mentioned chapter of the Second Book of the Lesser epic, leaves no room to doubt that the Pāli poet was definitely familiar with the chapter concerning Kausalyā's propitiation of the various gods.

A few other minor personalities, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, also occur in the various Jātakas. In this connexion, mention may be made of thousand-armed Arjuna, king Sagara and Nalakūbara, whose mistress Rambhā was violated by Rāvaṇa. Arjuna and Nalakūbara appear in the last Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* viz., the Uttarakāṇḍa. The story of 1000-armed Arjuna is more elaborately told in the *Mahābhārata*; the Jātakas contain a few references to him and his death at the hands of a Brāhmaṇa. Regarding Nalakūbara the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VIII. Ch. 26) informs us that his mistress was violated by the demon Rāvaṇa. But in the Jātakas his role is reversed. Here he is painted as enjoying the wife of another person (No. 327). The verse regarding king Sagara runs as follows—

yo sāgarantaṁ Sāgaro vijitvā
yūpaṁ subhaṁ soṇṇamayaṁ uḷāraṁ||

The verse shows that the Pāli poet had a perfect knowledge of the Sagara story, as described in both the epics. Some other ancient kings mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* like Bhagīratha, Dilīpa also appear in the Jātakas. The name Bhāgirathī applied to Gaṅgā occurs in a Pāli verse which shows that the legend of Bhagīratha was not unknown to the Pali poets.

The earliest extant non-canonical literary Śvetāmbara work appears to be the *Paümacariyaṁ* of Vimala, the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*, written according to the testimony of the poet himself, 530 years after the emancipation (*siddhi*) of Lord Mahāvīra. There is absolutely no reason why this date for the composition of this text should not be accepted as genuine. If this data is accepted, then we have to assign this work to the first century A.D., and there is nothing in the body of this text that goes against this date.

The celebrated poem of Vimala is also known as *Rāghavacaritam*. From a few verse of the second chapter, we can understand his attitude towards the Brāhmaṇical Rama story (obviously that represented by Vālmīki). We are giving below a free translation of those lines—"When I consider the *Padmacarita*, I wonder how the petty and insignificant monkeys could kill the powerful and aristocratic Rākṣasas, who were versed in different sciences and *who had complete faith in the Jinas*. We are further told by the native chronicler (apparently Vālmīki) that all the Rākṣasas, including Rāvaṇa, used

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to consume flesh, fat and blood. We further learn that Rāvaṇa's illustrious and valiant brother Kumbhakarṇa used to have an undisturbed sleep for six months. Even if he were hit by big hills, he could not be awakened; he remained asleep even if his ears were filled with jars of oil. Loud sounds of drum, which could even pierce thunder, had no effect on him. And when he used to awake, he felt so hungry that he could serenely swallow elephants, buffaloes and anything, that came in his way. After consuming gods, men, elephants, he used to go to sleep once more for six months. We have further heard that Rāvaṇa, after vanquishing Indra in the battlefield, brought him in chain to the city of Laṅkā. But who can conquer the mighty Indra, who is capable of uprooting the whole of Jambūdvīpa, who has Airāvata as his *vāhana*, and the terrible *vajra* as his weapon ? By his very thought, he (i.e. Indra) can reduce to ashes any god or man. 'The dear killed the lion, and dog, the elephant' such contradictory sentences are found everywhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa*."

We have deliberately reproduced this long passage in order to show the deep familiarity, Vimala had, with the original *Rāmayaṇa*, ascribed to Vālmiki. Not only has he referred to the work of Vālmiki by name, but at the same time, he has mentioned events, described in the original version, using almost the same language. What he has said about Kumbhakarṇa and his undisturbed sleep for six months, are actually found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 60. 27-63 and VI. 61.28. There is absolutely no doubt that Vimala is indebted to the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, so far as the above-mentioned passages of his work are concerned. As a devout Jain and a firm believer in the doctrine of Ahiṁsā, he is not prepared to believe that the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā used to consume animal flesh. They are everywhere delineated in his work as Vidyādharas, although sometimes he forgetfully calls them also Rakṣasas (cf. 2.105; 7,92 etc.).

These so-called Vidyādharas, led by Rāvaṇa, are everywhere protrayed as staunch Jains. Although Vimala is committed to writing the story of Padma (i.e. Rāma), his actual hero, at least in the first half at his work, is Rāvaṇa, who like Naravāhanadatta, appears in this poem as perfect knigh-errant. As a matter of fact, the ghost of Naravāhanandatta looms large in all the literary works beginning from Vimalasūri down to Hemacandra.

We have already seen that Vimala had a thorough knowledge not only of the events, narrated in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also with its language. Although he contemptuously bestows on the earlier poets epithets like *kukavi*, *mūḍhāḥ* etc., he actually follows the path trodden by them. Sometimes he does not hesitate to borrow words and phrases of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. However, while telling the story of Rāma and Rāvana, he also tells something about different Jain Tīrthaṅkaras and other interesting details are also found in his work, for which he is indebted to none, but his own imagination.

The main details of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa viz. the birth of the four sons of Daśaratha. Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, his departure for the forest along with Lakṣmana and Sītā, Rāvaṇa's kidnapping of Sītā, death of Jaṭāyu at Rāvaṇa's hands, Rāma's meeting with Sugrīva, Hanumat's departure for Laṇkā, his meeting with Sītā, the battle of Laṅkā, the rescue and ultimate banishment of Sītā are all described in Vimala's poem. But mere similarity of broad facts do not concern us much

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here. After a thorough examination of the entire Prakrit poem of Vimala we have been able to find out a very good number of small yet important details which also occur in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. We are giving below those details side by side from the two poems—

Paümacariyaṁ	*Rāmāyaṇa*
1. Description of Rājagṛha (2.8-14)	1. Description of Ayodhyā (I, ch. 5).
2. Rāvaṇa's encounter with Vālin and lifting of Kailāsa (9.24 ff.)	2. VII, ch. 34; VII, 16.25 ff.
3. Description of the Narmadā (10.29 ff)	3. VII. 31. 15. ff.
4. Sahasrakiraṇa's play in the water of the Narmadā (10.33 ff)	4. VII, 32.2 ff, (in this epic he is called Arjuna of *Sahasra* hands.
5. Rāvaṇa's worship of the Jina image near the bank of the Narmadā (10.45 ff)	5. VII. 31.37 ff. (he is shown as worshiping the Śivaliṅga).
6, Nalakūbara-Uparambhā-Rāvaṇa affair (12.38 ff)	6. VII, ch. 26 (the heroine is here Rambhā).
7. Indra-Rāvana encounter (12.73 ff.)	7. VII, ch. 29.
8. Añjanā-Pavanañjaya love affair and birth of Hanumat (chs. 15-17)	8. VII, ch. 35.
9. Rāvaṇa-Varuṇa encounter (ch. 19)	9. VII, ch. 23.
10. Killing of Śambūka (43.48 ff.)	10. VII, ch. 76.
11. Kharna-Dūṣaṇa and their 14,000 associates (43.17 : 44.11)	11. III chs. 19-20.
12. Candranakhā's amorous advances (43.37 ff.)	12. Śūrpanakhā affair (iii, ch. 17).
13. Rāma's lament (45.51 ff)	13. III, chs, 62. f.
14. Sugrīva severely rebuked by Laksmaṇa (48.7 ff.)	14. IV, ch. 34.
15. Dadhimukha affair (ch. 49)	15. V, ch. 62.
16. Sītā gives Hanumat the cūḍāmaṇi (53.72 ff.)	16. V. chs. 38 f.
17. Hanumat overpowered by Indrajit (53.118 f.)	17. V, ch. 48.
18. Hanumat returns to Rāma the *cūḍāmaṇi* given by Sītā (5413) ff.	18. V, ch. 65.
19. Indrajit's quarrel with Vibhīṣana (55.8 ff.)	19. VI, ch. 15.
20. Rāvana's quarrel with Vibhīṣana (55.18 ff)	20. VI, ch. 16.
21. Doubts raised in Rāma's camp about Vibhīṣaṇa (55.29 ff)	21. VI, ch. 17.
22. Rāma's lament (after Laksmaṇa was hit by Rāvaṇa's Śaktiśela 62.4 ff).	22. VI, ch. 101.

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23.	Description of Mathurā (88.2 ff)	23. VII. 70.9 ff.
24.	Rāma becomes a target of hostile criticism at Ayodhyā (93.22 ff)	24. VII. 43, 16 ff.
25.	Sītā's lament in the forest (94.87 ff)	25. VII. 48 ff.

The above table shows that Vimala has very faithfully followed in his Prakrit poem the original *Rāmāyaṇā*, including its First and Seventh Books, which are considered late additions to the original poem. A very good number of incidents, narrated in the Uttarakāṇḍa, have been recorded by the author of the *Paümacariyaṁ*. We have, for example, in this poem the story of Marutta's *yajña*, even the name Marutta' priest Saṁvarta is mentioned by Vimala (11.71). Vimala, to whom Rāvaṇa is a great Jain and Vidyādhara, has cleverly changed the passages of the Uttarakāṇḍa, which describe Rāvaṇa's discomfiture. As for example, in the Uttarakāṇḍa story Arjuna, king of Māhiṣmatī, is represented as having made Rāvaṇa his prisoner; but the *PC* just gives the opposite version. In another Uttarakāṇḍa story Rāvaṇa is shown as having suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Vālin; but in the *PC* Vālin appears as a Jain ascetic and is further shown as having pressed the mount Kailāsa with the finger of his feet, when Rāvana had lifted that mount. And Daśamukha, in utter distress, cried out and earned the name of Rāvaṇa. It is not little amusing to see how the Jain poet has cleverly assigned to Vālin the role of Śiva of the Uttarakāṇḍa (16.25-38). Let no one suppose from this that Vimala has here followed a different tradition, and not that recorded by author of the *Rāmāyāṇa*.

The above discussion abundantly proves that this Jain author, writing in the first century A.D., has deliberately followed the original Rāma story, although, here and there, he has shown his Jain bias. Characters like Deśaratha, Bharata, Kumbhakarṇa, Indrajit and others are represented as embracing the ascetic life in this poem. Lakṣmaṇa in this Jain epic, is represented as taking a more important part in the battle of Laṅkā than Rāma. But Vimala has done a grave injustice to this great brother of Rāma, by representing him as a love-sick, sentimental hero.

The work of Vimala is the foundation on which later Jain writers built lofty edifices. We have the *Padma Purāṇa* of Digambara Raviṣeṇa (7th century A.D). A number of other writers including Svayambhū, also wrote on the Rama-story.

The *Padma Purāṇa* or *Padmacarita* is a free and direct Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit text of Vimala. However, nowhere in the text Raviṣeṇa cares to acknowledge his debt to the earlier and original poet. He simply states that he followed the work of Anuttaravāgmin, who according to Svayambhū, was identical with Kīrtidhara. But no work of Kīrtidhara is known. We can understand the reason why Raviṣeṇa has not mentioned Vimala in his work : the former was a diehard Digambara and the latter was a Śvetāmbara poet. It appears that before Raviṣeṇa, one Kīrtidhara made an attempt to translate in Sanskrit the Prakrit *kāvya* of Vimala. However, the popularity of Raviṣeṇa's work forced the poem of Kīrtidhara to disappear from the literary scene. Although Raviṣeṇa is a mere translator, we have to concede that he was endowed with a genuine poetical fervour. The *Padma Purāṇa* is an exceedingly

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popular work among the Digambara Jains. That Raviṣeṇa was a learned poet, is also evident from various chapters of his work. The easy, graceful style of Raviṣeṇa is also responsible for his extreme popularity. Later poets like Udyotanasūri, the author of the *Kuvalyamālā* (Śaka 700) and Jinasena, the author of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (Saka 705) refer to Raviṣeṇa with love and deference. Since *Padma Purāṇa* is a mere translation of the *Paümacariyam*, it is useless to discuss the contents of that poem.

Svayambhū, like Vimala and Raviṣeṇa, wrote on the Rāma story. The name of his work is *Paumacariyu* which is written in the Apabhraṁśa language. In the very opening stanza of the first Sandhi of his work, the poet declares that he has taken on hand to narrate the Rāma story after keeping in view the Ārṣa. The colophons of all the Parvans of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapuraṇa* begin with it—*ityārṣe* Śri Raviṣeṇācāryaprokte *Padmapurāṇe*. This makes it clear that Svayambhū's reference pertains to that work. Elsewhere in Svayambhū's work (I. 2.9) we are told that he has embarked upon such a vast theme through the favour of Ācārya Raviṣeṇa.

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19

Tambula : A Forgotten Hindu Custom

P.V. PARABRAHMA SASTRY

Offering of betel leaves with areca-nuts to friends and relatives is an age long custom in India. Irrespective of one's economic status one has to observe it as a mark of hospitality. There is no domestic ritual in the Hindu families which concludes without the offering of *tāmbūla* to the visitors. Similarly, no feast can be complete without *tāmbūla*. In fact, *tāmbūla* forms the concluding item in all the auspicious occasions of the individual as well as social functions. The medicinal properties of *tāmbūla* have been described in the texts of Āyurveda. But too much chewing of *tāmbūla* is not desirable. This habit of the Indians in the medieval times had caught the sight of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller of the late thirteenth century, who makes a pointed reference to it in his travel account.[1] The cosmetic and stimulating qualities of *tāmbūla*, chewed with the ingredients like areca-nut, catechu, camphor, musk, aromatic spices and quicklime, need no special mention in the present context of its other significant role which is being dealt with here.

A more important, but forgotten social significance of *tāmbūla* in the ancient and medieval Hindu life is noticeable in some inscriptions of Andhra and Karnataka. In Telugu language *aḍapa* is the equivalent for *tāmbūla*. Its occurernce in the records is associated with certain gifts to the deities, besides the usual offering of it in the routine of worship after *naivedya*. The gift is indicated by the word *aḍapagaṭṭu*. Simple betel leaves with areca-nuts as such cannot form a gift to the deity, although provision is generally made for it in several main gifts. An epigraph dated in the 49th year of the Cālukya Vikrama era, corresponding to A.D. 1124 found in the village Gūḍūru in the Warangal District, concludes with the gift of *aḍapagaṭṭu* to the God malleśvaradeva.[2] Obviously, the gift must have been of some monetary value, as a source of income to meet the expenses of worship and offerings to the God. But the term does not seem to convey any other meaning than betel leaves with areca-nuts. Had it been such ordinary *tāmbūla* it cannot be called a gift worth mentioning in the inscriptions. It is, therefore, to be investigated whether *aḍapagaṭṭu* or *tāmbūla* would serve the purpose of a gift, that is, whether it contains any value in kind or coin.

Another epigraph near the village Koṇḍaparti,[3] again in the Warangal District which is datable to the ninth century A.D., records a land lease in favour of a certain

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cultivator named Koṇḍapa. The land belongs to the Jain monks of Armakoṇḍa, a historical town and a Jain centre in Andhra Pradesh. The procedure adopted in executing the deed is very interesting. The village headman or *raṭṭoḍi*, named Polameya, executes the deed between the parties, the terms of the deed being that the land owners and the tenant should share the produce in two equal parts and the tax in coin is four *drammas* and in kind one *puṭṭi* of grain. As a mark of the agreement the *raṭṭoḍi* or the village headman and the parties along with the witnesses receive *tāmbūla*. The transaction is stated to have undergone *tāmbūla-srava*, i.e., confirmed by mutual exchange of *tāmbūla*.

Thus, we notice that offering *tāmbūla* in such context as an agreement between two or more parties signifies its confirmation by mutual acceptance in the presence of elders. It has such a legal sanctity as the parties cannot violate the agreement. Issuing of *tāmbūla* is the final stage of negotiations. In the present case the village headman (*raṭṭodi*) act as an elderly person, whose responsibility is to see that the parties remain faithful to the agreement. Violation of any of the stipulated conditions by either of the parties would be a legal flaw. The aggrieved party can appeal to the *raṭṭoḍi* and seek redress. The *rattoḍi* by virtue of his office holds the sacred responsibility of awarding justice. Right from the beginning of the lease transaction, it is the duty of the village headman to see that the parties should abide by the agreement. In this connection some fixed amount placed in *tāmbūla* is to be paid as honorarium by the parties concerned in the actual transaction to the village headman for his said undertaking of the responsibility. The value of this *tāmbūla* may be varying according to the nature of the transaction, such as lease deed, sale deed, marriage agreements and even agreement of charities to temples by the members of trade guilds or the cultivators in the village in some cases. To be more general, it can be said, that any agreement of vital importance between two or more individuals in the ancient and medieval India was invariably followed by the offering of *tāmbūla* with the specified fee to the village headman as a token of its legal binding on the parties to honour the agreement. The village headman in his turn has thus the responsibility to act as a legal guardian in the execution of the agreement by the parties. In the absence of registering offices and legal courts in those days, all disputes arising from the breach of such agreement by any of the parties, were settled by the headman alone or in consultation with the members of the civic body. He was morally empowered to punish the guilty person who disobeys the agreement.

Thus it is an age long practice in our country to offer *tāmbūla* with the specified fee to the village headman and without fee to other elders as a token of its legal sanctity. The specified fee called *aḍapagaṭṭu* in Telugu and *tāmbūla* in Sanskrit. It is in vogue in some villages even now. We call it '*grāma-kaṭna*' or '*Sabhā-Kaṭna*' which is offered to the village headman in all domestic functions like marriages and other rituals. It forms a source of income to the civic body.

In the Koṇḍaparti epigraph cited above, Polameya Raṭṭoḍi as village headman acts as the guardian of the said land lease. In the Gudur epigraph, the Viriyāla Chief Mallam as the headman of the village donates that income derived as *aḍapagaṭṭu* or *tāmbūla* to the God Mallēśvara.

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Promises of minor importance are also followed by the offering of *tāmbūla*, not necessarily in the presence of the village headman, nor with any money in it. To illustrate a simple example, fixing of the services of the cooks in a function is made in advance by issuing *tāmbūla* to the chief cook. Having received *tāmbūla*, his party would not dare to undertake another engagement on the same day, though more profitable, dishonouring the earlier promise. Similarly, the functionaries in sacrifices, after ensuring the services to a sacrificer by receiving *tāmbūla* cannot violate the promise. Even to-day important servicemen and functionaries ensure their services on the appointed days by receiving *tāmbūlas* in advance from the householders. It was also customary in Hindu hierarchy that kings and nobles while appointing ministers, military generals and feudatory chiefs their loyalty to the master was morally confirmed by offering *tāmbūla* by the latter who could safely rest his faith in them. Appointment orders of legal validity were no more required. Simple *tāmbūla* in those days used to serve the purpose what even legal documents cannot serve in these days. It is a token for moral integrity. Military generals could conduct independently any military operations on behalf of their masters. Receiving *tāmbūla* means that they are empowered to use their own discretion even in the important policy matters on the field.

There used to be a special post called *aḍapamu* in Telugu and *karaṇḍa-vāhaka* in Sanskrit, in the royal retinue, whose duty was to carry a pouch or bag containing betel leaves and areca-nuts etc. always following the king. The purpose was not the mere supply of *tāmbūla* to the king for his chewing whenever required; but to supply it to the king whenever he requires it for issuing orders to the subordinate officers. Issuing *tāmbūla* means issuing an official oral order with all the legal implications of a written order affixed with the royal seal. All the decisions and promises which the king makes in the royal court or camp are invariably accompanied with the offering of *tāmbūla* to the minister or the officer or person concerned. The promise is to be carried out without fail. Such promises are termed in the inscription as *tāmbūla-srava* (confirmed by issuing *tāmbūla* to the concerned party or officer). The post of *aḍapamu* or *kanaṇḍa-vāhaka*, was not, therefore, of an ordinary menial cadre of a house servant, but of the rank of a dignitary endowed with certain powers. He was of the rank of a seal bearer *mudra-karta* and even qualified brāhmaṇs were also used to hold the post of *aḍapamu*. The Reḍḍi king Anapota Reḍḍi had his *aḍapamu* named Vāmana (Ś.1278).[4] Allāḍa-bhūpāla, another Reḍḍi king had his *aḍapamu* in certain Peddana (Ś. 1338).[5] *Aḍapamu* does not carry the betel bag for the king's personal use but for his official purpose. It is noticed in some records that while appointing the *prabhu* or a meṇḍaleśvara the king generally confers certain titles on him and allows him to use certain insignia, like the five great sounds, *pañbha-mahäśoqdas*, and includes the privilege of appointing the *aḍapamu* i.e., issuing orders probably of minor nature with *tāmbūla* on behalf of the king. A Telugu epigraph at Anamole[6] in the Nalgonda district, Andhra Pradesh, datable to about 1130 A.D. refers to the appointment of certain Eraya-preggada as the *prabhu* of Ceraku-70 by the Telugu Coda Chief Kandūri Śrī devi Toṇḍaya Mahārāja. In the context Eraya-preggaḍa was permitted to have certain privileges like the use of *pañca-mahāśabdas*, etc. among which *aḍapamu* is also mentioned. Here it means the said dignitary is permitted

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to issue certain orders of minor nature by using *aḍapa* or *tāmbūla*, on behalf of king. Otherwise it would be abusurd to interpret the word in the simple sense that the king permitted the *prabhu* of 70 villages or revenue units to chew *tāmbūla*, as if he was not doing that before this inscriptional permission by the King. No, it is not like that. The real significance is the *prabhu* is permitted by the king to issue orders of minor nature by adopting the method of *tāmbūla-srava*, that is, giving *tāmbūla* to the party concerned. And for that purpose he is permitted to appoint the officer called *aḍapamu* or *tāmbūla-vāhaka* among his staff like *mudra-karta* or seal-bearer.

Another living example of *tāmbūla* we find in the case of our present marriage proceedings. After the finalization of negotiations both the parties hold a preliminary fnnction called *tāmbūla-grahaṇa*, when both the parties of the bride and bridegroom, in the presence of elders like the *purohita* and *sabhāpati* of the village exchange *tāmbūlas* as a mark of confirmation of the alliance. Neither of the parties would dare to go back from the alliance.

To conclude

1. *Tāmbūla* is an auspicious item in all the functions of the Hindu families.

2. It is a symbol of hospitality while receiving the guests.

3. It is offered as a moral evidence in agreements which become binding upon the parties in carrying out them, faithfully.

4. It is offered to the village headman with some nominal amount, as fixed by the village civic body, in transactions like the sale of property, land lease and agreements of communal donations and other contributions, which form a legal binding on the concerned individual member and the defaulters are liable for the punishment imposed by the village headman.

5. The marriages and other domestic rituals in Hindu families are legally sanctified by offering *tāmbūla* with a nominal amount to the village headman who in return undertakes the honourable responsibility of checking any sort of irregularity in that connection and sitting right the matters.

The amount payable to the village headman in items 4 and 5 is called *aḍapagaṭṭu* in the Telugu inscriptions and *tāmbūla* in general. It is still in vogue in some villages under the name *grāme-kaṭna* or *Sabhā-kaṭna*, a reminiscent of our old village administrative aspect, the significance of which is totally forgotten. As already said, any dispute connected with property settlement or marriage divorce is to be settled in the presence of the village headman alone, who knows the realities better than any judge in a far-away court of law. He demands no extra fee for this, because he already receives *aḍapagaṭṭu* or *tāmbūla* in the beginning of the affair, whether dispute or no dispute. Thus the system of paying *tāmbūla* to the village headman makes the village life very smooth free from the series of appeals in the modern countrs of law.

6. With regard to its official use *tāmbūla* is treated to be equal to the royal seal (*mudra*) and issuing *tāmbūla* by the king to a subordinate conveys all the force of a written order affixed with the Royal seal. It was a privilege in those days for the

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subordinate Chiefs to obtain from the King, permission for the use of *tāmbūla* for issuing orders. A dignitary with the designation *aḍapamu* or *Karaṇḍa-vāhaka*, used to be the officer in charge of such royal orders.

In brief *Tāmbūla* in medieval Hindu life acted as a symbol for morale and faithfulness in all the social dealings. That cultural aspect of *tāmbūla* we forgot. Our present concept of it is nothing more than its value in the pan-shop, which in other words is equal to the observation of Marco polo, alluded to in the beginning.

REFERENCES

1. K.A.N. Sastry, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras, 1939, page 180.
"All the people of this city, as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tāmbūla*, to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites. The Lords and gentlefolks and the king have these leaves prepared with camphor and other aromatic spices, and also mix it with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health. If any one desires to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him he spits this leaf or its juice on his face. The other immediately runs before the King, relates the insult that has been offered him, and demands leave to fight the offender. The King supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for this the King forbids.
2. N. Venkataramanayya, *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District*, page 82, and P. Srinivasachari, *A Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions*-III, Page 94.
3. N. Venketaramanayya, *op. cit* p. 315.
4. *SII.* Vol. X, No. 555.
5. *Ibid.*, V, 113. Both these officers seem to be *brāhmaṇas*.
6. P.V.P. Sastry, *Select Epigraphs of A.P.* Page 39.

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20

Three Interesting Sale-deeds of the 12th-14th Centuries

B.R. Gopal

Three epigraphs were discovered from two villages—Sindaghaṭṭa and Bairāpura in Kṛṣṇarājapeṭe Taluk of Maṇḍya district in Karnataka. They have been published in the Revised Volume VI of *Epigraphia Carnatica*.[1]

All of them being sale deeds were issued during the period of rule of the Hoysaḷas, The first of them falls in the reign-period of Vīraballāḷa II and the details of date given correspond to A.D. 1179, September 23. The other two, dated respectively A.D. 1299, May 11 and A.D. 1312, August 7 fall in the reign-period of Vīraballāḷa III. These can very well be compared with documents of the modern day, for, they record the consent of the parties, for instance the statement that "For this, the *mahajanas*' consent was given with the signature, (*iṁtapudakoā mahājanamgaḷa śrīhastad-oppa*)" and the statement "whether and edict consists less or more letters, all that is perfect authority (*nyūnāk-sham adhikāksharam vā tat sarvaṁ* pramaṇaṁ iti)". They cite the witnesses like the *mahājanas* of Sindaghaṭṭa, Bācihaḷḷi etc., as in the Bairāpura record. This much towards the format.

Let us now examine the contents in detail. The *mahājanas* of Sindaghaṭṭa *alias* Saṅgameśvarapura sold two entire *vṛttis* of land belonging to the temple of Lakṣmīnārā-yaṇa, with all wet lands, dry fields, house, etc. with (income from) taxes *āgāmi* and *baḷi*, to Mādaṇṇa and Bommaṇṇa for a sum of 46 *varāhas* which was the current sale value (*tat-kālocita-kraya-dravya*). It is described as a sale-gift which was in accordance with the sale procedure (*kraya-lakṣaṇa-lakṣita-krayadāna*). But, certain stipulations were attached to it. The *mahājanas* were receiving every year the income from several taxes like *siddāya, anyaya, aḷivu, abhyāgate*, etc. from the village as also from the two *vṛttis* of the land now sold. It was now laid down that the purchasers were to get it as *sarvamānya*, that is to say, they were not to pay such taxes to the *mahājanas*. On the other hand, they were now entitled to collect themselves income from taxes like *koḍagi, binugu, khāṇa* etc. and whatever might be due in the form of income of that village as regards the said two *vṛttis*. But they now became responsible for conducting festivals such as *pañcaparva, nulu* (*huṇṇive*), *davana* (*da-huṇṇive*), *divige*, etc. and for offerings to the god. They were also responsible for the maintenance of the monument as such by way of whitewashing or covering up leakages if any. They were not responsible for any other obstacles (to the service of the god). It also says that the loan on behalf of the

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ūr (*ūrasāla*), private debts (*pratēka sāla*) and other such shortcomins and whatever that might be within the boundary of the dry and wet fields of the village belonging to the temple were to be cleared by the *mahājanas*.

The contents of the second record from the same place are similar. In that record the donee was Rāüḷa Maleya-nāyaka, the *sthānapati* of Mācanakaṭṭa *alias* Bijjaleśvarapura, who purchased two *vṛttis* of the temple of gods Saṅgameśvara and Janneśvara of Sindaghaṭṭa for a sum of 15 *varāhas*. The conditions and stipulations were similar to the one noted above. In this record it is stated that they not only got the lands but also the *stāna* of the temple *i.e.* the authority over the temple.

Both these records indicate that the donees virtually purchased the right of conducting worship etc. in the temples and management of the same. They enjoyad the incomes from the lands purchased, and also those acorued from the taxes like *koḍagideṛe*, *binugu*, etc. due from the villages to the two *vṛttis* of land which actually belonged to the temple. They were responsible for some minor repairs like covering the leakage while works of renovation and such major works were the responsibility of the *mahājanas*. It would, therefore, become clear that the *mahājanas* got themselves rid of the problems of day-to-day management of the affairs of the temple which now was the responsibility of the donees. It would be meaningless to believe that the donees purchased such responsibility without consideration. The income from the temple, in the shape of offerings and presents made to the gods, and those from the temple lands they now owned, were greater than the risk they undertook. Obviously, the donees might have made their own arrangements in matters of appointment of temple servants and other establishments. So far as the *mahājanas* were concerned, it becomes clear that their share of income from taxes like *siddāya* was larger than what was received by the temple through other specified taxes, a reason why they agreed to shoulder the resposibility of renovating the temple. Through this, indirectly, they retained their hold on the temple.

Strictly speaking, therefore, there cannot be described as sale-deeds (*kraya-sasana*). The records refer to the transactions as *kraya-dāna* also, *i.e.* sale-gift. But this too would not explain the position correctly. Rather this is a deed about the sharing of incomes and responsibilities between the parties concerned. What finally followed was an arrangement about the system of land tenure with both the parties sharing responsibilities and privileges. But, since the arrangement was to be followed hereditarily, it is preferable to call the deed as some sort of permanent settlement.

Viewed thus, the third record from Bairāpura is a perfect sale-deed granted to Anantappa-vodeya, by the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* Bhayirameśvarapura *alias* Bhayirāpura, *sthānika* Bommaṇṇa and other *prajās*. It is stated therin that the wet land below *hiriyakere* of the village, 3 *khaṇḍugas* of wet land belonging to Devappa, son of Nagappa and 1 *khaṇḍuga* and 18 *koḷagas* of wet land belonging to Bommaṇṇa—altogether 5 *khaṇḍugas* were sold for 50 *varāha-gadyāṇas* nnder the stipulation that the *mahājanas* would themselves pay the taxes like *sēse*, *siddāya* etc. The *mahājanas* made out the sale-deed after receiving the value in full without keeping any balance. This would indeed be a true sale-deed. What is interesting, however is the other stipulation underlined whereby the purchaser could cultivate the lands by getting water from the

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channel called Yōgaṇṇa's *kaṭṭe* and if that water was not sufficient the *mahājanas* undertook to supply water in turns, to the sold lands, by putting bund, suitably to the tank, "treating this wet land of five *khaṇḍugas* as our wet land." The point to be noted is that the seller did not do away with his responsibility after selling, but made sure that the land so sold had all the facilities which would result in good yields. For that purpose, the responsibility of providing water to the sold plots of land, the irrigational facilities, was still that of the seller. Here it was a social obligation which bound them to such a stipulation and it had its economic aspect too. Whatever might have been the reasons for such transactions, Their implication is that the *mahājanas* enjoyed keyposition in the society being concerned with its economic prosperity.

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21

Musalimadugu and its Antiquities

R. Subrahmanyam

Musalimadugu is a small village situated at distance of 25 kms froms Atmakur on the road to Erramattam and Sangameswaram. On the outskirts of the village there is a huge irrigation tank and the road to this village runs on the bund of this tank. To the south west of the village is an ancient fort, quadrangular in shape with a moat running alround. The local tradition as believed by the people is as follows. When this area was a thick forest one of the king whose name is not remembered came for hunting and when he felt tired took rest at a place where the pond is situated. He dreamt that Lord Rāma appeared in his dream and exhorted him as follows : there is a big crocodile in the pond with lots of gold in its stomach and he should kill that aligator, take the treasure and perpetuate his name by making a permanent construction. When the king got up he found a big crocodile floating on the water. He killed the crocodile, tore open its stomach and to his astonishment found a large quantity of gold as mentioned by Rāma in his dream. He built a temple and a fort under the name 'Musalimadugu'. It is also said that he spread small gold pieces containing the representation of crocodile on one side and the scene of Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka on other side, all over the fort, as though to give credence to the story, Local people inform us that during rainy season small gold pieces, probably coins containing these representations, are washed down the fortification walls. Unfortunately they were all melted down and sold away as bullion.

Since this site was getting submerged, the fort was explored for archaeological materials. The entire interior place is under cultivation. There are two standing temples one enshrining an imaga of Cennakeśava and other a Śiva *liṅga*. Small rest house or *satra*, a draw well and a dilapidated mosque are the only standing structures inside the fort. The mosque is also dilapidated and deserted. The temples have been constructed either with materials collected from other ruined temples or under went a phase of renovation. No two pillar types are identical. The temple of Śiva on the other hand known by the name Betheśvara has a pillared hall in front, with a *kakṣāsana* running around it has a square *garbhagṛha* and a narrow *antarāla*. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* which is panelled is plain, excepting for the central bay where it is slightly lifted up with corner stones and *nāsikas* and a covering slab. These *nāsikas* on their front face bear representations of Dikpalās with their attendents. The central slab contains the representation of Śiva Naṭarāja (eight handed) standing on *apasmāra puruṣa*.. Above the

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head of Śiva there is trefoil *toraṇa*. On the slab there are traces of an inscription, the script of which is datable to 11th-12th centuries A.D.

On one of the pillare there is Telugu inscription referring to Maciraju and his medetations to his teacher Vibhuti Gaurayya whose representation is given in line drawing. This Gaurayya is a tall hepty figure wearing a small *dhoti* and a girdle to which is hung a sword On the head is shown a Śiva liṅga. The facial features, however, are not clear.

Musalimadugu as a fortified town finds mention in *Soma Dēvarājīyam*, a text of the 14th century which eulogises the exploits of a Kṣatriya king Araviti Somadevarāja who took an active part in liberation war after the early Muslim conquest of the Deccan. The fall of Warangal in 1323 and the death of Kākati Pratāparudra in captivity, while in transit to Delhi, created a political vacuum in Andhra. His eratwhile subordinates and generals met at Tekapalli on the Godavārī under the leadership of Amenamantri. They had planned for the redemption of the country from the Muslim authority. This choice of the leadership fell on Prolayanāyaka of the Musinuri family. He had succeeeded in bringing together all the chiefs and collected an army and declared a war of independence. Very soon coastal Andhra was freed. After Prolaya his nephew Kapayanāyaka became the leader of the confederacy. He toured from court to court, explained the need for unity and pressing need of the hour namely driving the Muslims from Andhra. He succeeded in expelling the Muslim governor from Warangal fort and assuming the title *Andhra suratrāna* became very active in arranging for the liberation of the country from the Muslim yoke. Simultanceously in Western Andhra that is in Kurnpool and Anantapur regions, the Kṣatirya chiefs became active under the leadership of Aravidu family. Somadevarāja is said to have defeated and occupied in a single campaign and on a single day number of forts including Musalimadugu Satanikota, Kundanavolu and Raichur defeating and displacing the Muslim garrisons.

The fort at Musalimadugu with gateways and bastions was constructed with blocks of shale the inner core being mud and stone pieces. From the dilapidated conditions of the fort it is seen that it had main entrance on the east and have a number of rectangular and circular bastions. Excavations were started here to assertain the nature of fortification and to get a picture of structures inside the fort. A long slit trench 20/60 feet was laid across the fortifications and these have provided the following features. The construction was in random roubble mostly a local variety of shale and stone. The inner edge of the wall was vertical and consisted of well packed earth and stone pieces. The outer face, which is so far exposed, shows a curve. It is likely to be one of the bastions. Another trench system was laid adjoining this fort wall inside the fort. These trenches have exposed to view two face of structural activity. The earlier one is quite deep and the later one covered by surface humus. Two sides of a room running north south and east west have been partially exposed. The later construction had a slab floor.

Another trench system was laid to the south of the deserted mosque. The stratification as revealed in this trench is almost identical with that of the earlier trench

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system of fort wall. Lower down, the phase of structural activity is suggested by the occurrence of a roubble wall.

To the south of the temple complex and adjoing the silted up ancient pond, where the mound is highest, 2 trenches were laid. Even here roubble walls of earlier face were met with. The antiquities discovered so far comprise large number of small and big beads made of terracotta, steatite carnelian, white crystal, milky quartz, coloured quartz, coral, glass, one ivory eye, broken bangles of different materials like glass, copper, shell, bone, besides dull gray and dull red pottery. Two stone images badly damaged one of Gaṇeśa and another, a portion of Saptamāṭṛkā in shale belonging to the Kākatiya period were recovered from the debris.

CENNAKEŚAVA TEMPLE

It has a main shrine with a squore *śikara* over seven *talas*. Its *maṇḍāpa* has entrance on west and north with porches consisting of four pillars with flat roof. Pillars are erected over high *kakṣāsana*. The main entrance is on the north through a *gopura* or a gateway, the super structure of which is missing now. The image of Cennakeśava, Lakṣmī and broked Dvārapālas belong to 16th, 17th centuries A.D.

The pillars are small, assorted having cubical base, octogonal centre with a band, cubical part again with beaded string and loop decoration. The temple has two cellas or *gārbhagṛhas* enshrining Viṣṇu in the from of Cennakeśava in the main shrine and Mahālakṣmī in the side subshrine. The front *maṇḍapa* which is enclosed by wall alround has in the centre raised pletform, a *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* covering the space between four pillars. The ceiling is panelled but bears no figure sculpture.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SITE

In order to ascertin the arehaeological potentia lities of the sits trenches were laid at three different places measuring 6×6 metres and was dug up to a depth varying 2 to 3 metres where natural soil comprising murrum was struck. Choosing the highest points of the mounds, the main concentration however, however, was the mud fortification wall. The trenches have revealed interesting details about the 2 phases of the structural activity at the site. In both the phases material used for the construction was shale pieces and mud mortar. Floors with hearths inside the residential rooms were partially exposed. The fortification wall which looks like a heap of mud today also has two phases in its life. The earlier phase consisted of a thick stone massonary wall buit of shale chipe of assorted sizes. This wall, so far exposed has a height of four feet to five feet and the work is still in progress.

It looks as though the contemporary population responsible for this stone fort wall, as revealed by the trenches laid adjacent to the fort wall, lived in stone built houses of fairly large size. Since the excavation was restricted, the entire plan of any building could not be fully exposed. This will be done later.

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The fort wall itself was provided with a moat at a later date. The entire mud it dug up, was thrown over the stone wall to increase its height. From the irregular position of the mounds it is surmised that this fort had circular and square bastions with gate ways pluced into the wall on all the four cordinal directions.

The antiquities recovered during the excavations comprised beads of semiprecious stones, and terracotta, bangle pieces, iron nails and iron slag. The sizes of the beads which include disc shaped, vary from very small size to about ½ inch. Their shapes also vary. These are circular, rectangular, elongated barrel, disc and pear shaped, banded etc. These throw some light on the tastes of the people who wore them as ornaments.

On one of the pillars in the Bhateśvara temple there are inscription in Telugu, Nagari and Tamil script Pls. 10211. They record the salutations of one of the Saivite divinites of Warangal named Vibhuti Gaurayya, his picture in line drawing is also made of the cubical surface of the pillar which is a unique feature. The Telugu verison of this record is given below, which is in 5 lines and is engraved in the script of 13th century Below the inscription there are two lines in Devanāgarī.

The trial excavation conducted by me at Musalimadugu has revealed its archaeological potentialities. A full scale excavation will definitely lay bare the cultural complex of this historical site.

TEXT

1. Sri yorumgamllum Tikamāchi
2. rājudevijani srīgiri srumgavā
3. si pamditarādhya griha
4. sthya dāsu vibhuti Gaurah
5. saranagatavah

6th & 7th are in Nāgarī script.

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22

Mahinda's Route to Ceylon

T.V. MAHALINGAM

One of the most interesting aspects of the early history of Buddhism relates to its spread in foreign countries. However, there are no authentic sources of information about the period or manner of its spread in many countries. One of them is Ceylon. Though it is a fact that the new religion had spread and taken root in the island even before the commencement of the Christian era, one has to depend on traditional accounts for a knowledge of its early fortunes in the island. A Ceylonese tradition says that the Buddha himself as also the three preceding Buddhas visited Ceylon. The Prince named Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhalese kingdom in the island, is said to have started from Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) with about 700 followers for Ceylon soon after the Buddh's death, conquered the island by defeating its earlier inhabitants, the Yakṣas, and settled in it.[1] Similarly there is a tradition associating the Buddha with the Tamil country recorded in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiue-Tsang.

In spite of stray references and traditions which suggest some knowledge of Buddhism in these countries, the first epoch in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon and South India is the period of Aśoka. Accordin to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, Devānāmpiya Tissa, the king of Ceylon, who was a friend of Aśoka sent to the Mauryan emperor a mission with large presents. Aśoka, who was obviously pleased with the mission, sent him in return the "gift of Dhamma" saying that he had taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha and advised the king of Ceylon to find salvation in the same way. It is also recorded that Aśoka sent to him rich presents including royal in signia and other articles required for a consecration and that Tissa was consecrated a second time according to traditional rites prevalent in India. This second consecration may also lead one to infer that the Ceylonese king acknowledged the suzerainty of Aśoka, though there is no other corroborative evidence to state so.[2] Again, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, Aśoka held in the 17th year of his consecration the Third Buddhist Council with Moggali-putta Tissa as its president. It was decided to send missioneries to foreign countries and the outlying provinces of the Mauryan empire to preach Buddhism. Theras were sent to various countries and Mahinda Thera was sent to Ceylon for the conversion of the island to Buddhism. While the earlier Ceylonese tradition says that Mahinda was a son of Aśoka the subsequent tradition of the northern Buddhists has it

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that he was an uterine brother of the Mauryan emperor. Probably the Ceylonese tradition regarding his relationship with Aśoka is more reliable. The historicity of the Ceylonese Chronicles is borne out by the records on the relic caskets in the second *stūpa* at Sāñci which contain the names of some the missionaries referred to in them.

Thus it is clear that Buddhism reached Ceylon through missionaries during the days of Aśoka. The question naturally arises at to the route which the missionaries took to reach Ceylon, whether they went by sea and reached the island straight or they passed through the Deccan and South India before they reached it. There is evidence to show that there was close relationship between North India and Ceylon from early times. Diplomatic missions were also exchanged between North India and the island from time to time, as already mentioned. Tissa himself is said to have sent a diplomatic mission under Maha Arittha to Aśoka's court. It left Jambukola in the Jaffna peninsula, reached Tāmralipti by sea in seven days and arrived in Pāṭaliputra in another seven days. The Celonese Chronicles would have us believe that Buddhism was recived in Ceylon direct from Avanti as may be seen from the account that Mahinda miraculously flew to the island through air. Regarding this Oldenberg says: "The story of Mahinda and his sister seems to have been invented for the purpose of possessing a history of the Buddhist institutions in the island and to connect it with the most distinguishable person conceivable—the great Aśoka." It is rather difficult to interpret the statement that Mahinda and his followers went through air from the region of Avanti to Ceylon. They must have taken either of the two routes open to them, namely the sea-route from Broach to Ceylon or the land-route through the Deccan and South India. It is more probable that they took the land route.

A tradition recorded by Hiuen-Tsang refers to a Buddhist mission under Mahendra at Malakūṭa below Drāviḍa i.e., the Tāmraparṇi country before reaching Simhaḷa. Referring to the place he says "Here some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva (Brahmanical) temples and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirganthas (Jains).

"Not far to the east of this city is an old *sanghārāma* (monastery) of which the vestibule and court are covered with wild shrubs. This was built by Mahendra the younger brother of Aśokarājā. To the east of this is a *stūpa*, the lofty walls of which are buried in the earth... This was built by Aśokarājā". The Chinese pilgrim's account, therefore, shows that Mahendra had something to do with Buddhist activity in the extreme of the Tamil country.[3] Mahendra's activity in South India is further borne out by a few other pieces of evidence. It is not improbable that he stayed at Nāgapaṭṭinam, (Thanjavur district) in connection with his regular work. That was of importance for Buddhist activity from early times. According to a later tradition, there was at Nāgapaṭṭinam a Buddhist monastery which was called *Dharmāśoka Mahārāja Vihāra*, probably named after Aśoka. The great Śaiva Nāyanar Tirujñāna Sambandar mentions

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the place as an important centre of Buddhism. Later still the smaller Leyden grant mentions a *Rājēndraperumpaḷḷi* as also some Buddhist temples at the place. All these show that Buddhism had spread to the Tamil country during the day of Aśoka.

Curiously enough the *Mahāvaṁśa*, which mentions that at the end of the Third Buddhist Council missionaries were sent to different parts of India, does not mention the Tamil country as one among them. While regions like the Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Vanavāsa are mentioned in the South, the Tamil country alone is omitted. It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation for this omission. Probably when traditions about the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon were growing there was great hostility between the Tamils and the Ceylonese and such enimity between them might have been responsible for the Ceylonese Chroniclers completely omitting the Tamil country as one of the regions to which Aśoka sent missionaries to spread Buddhism.

But this glaring omission by the Ceylonese chroniclers is more than compensated by the mention of the different kingdoms in the Tamil country in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka in which the emperor mentions his religious missions to South India and Ceylon. In Rock Edict II he says: "Throughout the domian of King Priyadarśin Beloved of Gods, so also in the bordering Territories such as Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keraḷaputra, as far (south) as Tāmraparṇi (that of) of the Greek king named Antiochus, or even (those of the Greek) kings who are the neighbours of the said Antiochus—everywhere King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged etc..." To the groups of independent kingdoms and peoples outside the boundaries of the Mauryan empire belonged the territories of the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra and Keraḷaputra as far South as Tāmraparṇi. From the distribution of the edicts of Aśoka in the south of his empire namely three groups of Minor Rock Edicts at Siddhāpura, Jatinga Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri, Maski, Nittūr and Udagolam all in the Karnataka State, the version of the Rock Edicts and Minor Edicts at Yeṛṛagudi in the Kurnool district and the version of the Minor Rock Edict at Rājulamandagiri near Yeṛṛagudi it may be taken that the southern boundary of the Mauryan empire was coterminous with the northern boundary of the Tamil-land. Probably it extended a little into the Tamil country itself and included Kāñcipuram within it. This is further borne out by a few other pieces of evidence. Hiuen-Tsang connects Aśoka with Kāñcipuram and notes that he saw at the place a *stūpa* about hundred feet high built by the Mauryan emperor. The discovery of the remnants of a *stūpa* at Kāñcipuram in recent excavations, assignable to the early centuries of Christian era also bears testimony to the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of the country. It is interesting to find that the fragment (rim portion of a dish) of grey ware obtained from the lower levels of a trench excavated at the place bears five Brāhmī letters viz., *pu ta la si ta*, probably the name of a Buddhist monk. The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi is said to have visited Kāñcīpuram immediately after his pilgrimage to Kapilavāstu. These facts will prove beyond any doubt that Kāñcipuram was also a centre of Buddhist activities in South India from the very dawn of Buddhism to the end of the fourteenth century A.D. at the latest. Further some old Pallava

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charters mention one Aśokavarman as one of the ancestors of the Pallavas of Kāñcī.[4] Aśokavarman probably stands for Aśoka, the Mauryan Emperor.

Taking thes facts into consideration it is probable that Mahinda and the Buddhist missionaries who went to Ceylon could have embarked for the island from the east coast of the Tamil country, probably from Nāgapaṭṭinam or more probaly from Kāñcipuram.

REFERENCES

1. For a full discussion, see E.W. Adikaram, *The Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon.*
2. It is considered that "the real purpose of the mission that Tissa sent to Asoka was to obtain the support of the great Indian emperor for his assumption of royal honours, so that he may be acknowledged as such by the other *gāmanis* and *parumakas* (*pramukhas*) in Ceylon. (*History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, part i, pp. 134-5).
3. The tradition of Sinhalese Buddihsts mentions that the first meeting between Mahinda Thera and Devānāmpiya Tissa took place at Mihintale in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign. As said earlier Aśoka held the Third Buddhist Council in the seventeenth year of his reign. The missionaries to other countries left immediately after the Third Council was over, but Mahinda is said to have tarried for some time in the city of Vidiśa in a monastery called *Vedišagiri*. It is also probable that Mahinda would have devoted some of his time before his meeting with Tissa in a monastery or monasteries in a few places in South India.
4. See the Vāyalūr inscription of Rājasiṁha (*EI*, xviii, pp. 145-42; the Kaśakkudi plates of Nandivarman II (*SII*, II, p. 348) and the Velūrpāḷayam plates of Nandivarman III (*SII*, ii, pp. 508 and 511).

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23

Ancient Sea-ports of South India–their Trade Relationship with the Western World during the First Century B.C. to Second Century A.D.

C. MARGABANDHU

The period under review i.e. from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., constitutes one of the busiest time of trade and commerce of South India with the western world; the countries of the latter include Egypt, the Roman world and the ports along the coasts of Mediterranean and the Red Sea, in particular.

In India the business activity flourished along both the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Many port sprang up and an ideal condition prevailed for carrying out trade. It was also a period of geographical discoveries that helped to enhance the business relations in both the regions. In addition to trade, evidences are available of the mutual exchange of gifts, but when all is said, trade happened to be the dominating factor in these transactions.

Sources of this period are manifold; Tamil literature contributing the major part. The main body of Tamil literature, of the 'Age of Sangam' gives us a vivid account of the political, economic and social conditions of the whole of southern Peninsula. But the elusive problem is to fix the definite date for 'Sangam' classics.[1]

Scholars are still indecisive, the reason being no corresponding antiquities or coins of South Indian Kings are available. As such a wider range between the second century A.D. to twelfth century A.D. has been adopted by various scholars; Prof. Sastri and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, on the basis of synchronism and the striking coincidences with the descriptions in Sangam works and the narratives of the classical writers assign the Sangam works to the second century A.D.; while Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai gives a slightly later date (third century A.D.) basing on the literary style, etc., of Silappadikaram and other Sangam poems.

The accounts about the South Indian rulers and their country by the authors of the Western world would certainly indicate contemporaneity; but the possibiltity of later recording of an earlier event is not ruled out.

The other source is the accounts of maritime travellers of the Egyptian, and the western, particularly, the Roman World. Of the many who have recorded their observa-

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tions regarding India, a few may be mentioned in chronological order; Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Ptolemy, the author of the Peutinger Tables and the Ravenna Geographer; but the accounts of unknown author of the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" is "a clear and comprehensive outline of Rome's remarkable commerce with the east". The majority of the above writers lived in the first and second century A.D.[2]

But more significant is the archaeological discovery of coins, either singly or in hoards in many ancient towns and along the coastal areas of the entire Southern Peninsula which has helped in identifying ports and towns and in the reconstruction of the history of this period. Other antiquities like Arretine ware Roman amphorae, Rouletted Wares have been found during explorations near about the environs of Pondicherry, resulting in the systematic excavations at Arikamedu,[3] two miles on the coast near Pondicherry. This for the first time fixed a general chronology for the period under review.

The lithic records of the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas, also help us to identify some of the capital cities, towns and ports mentioned by Western Geograhers. Tamil kings had continued to preserve these ports as centres of trade in later times also, a few of which are still maintaining their importance of ports of call to this day. A glance at the geography of Ptolemy or the accounts of the author of the 'Periplus of Erythraean Sea' reveals the trade traffic in these three centuries and it is reasonable to state that this will help to understand the zenith of trade and commerce of South India with the Western world.

The venue of maritime activity was centred along the western sea-board and the Coromandel coast; the former played a dominant part in the early centuries of the christian era; it continued to afford important anchorage for Arab traders in eighth and nineth centuries A.D.; its harbour served once again to the Portuguese, Vasco-Da-Gama who landed in Calicut in A.D. 1498. This sea-board has the advantage of natural harbours like Calicut, Cochin, Mangalore Goa, Bomby, etc.

The Coromandel coast was another vital link in the chain of incessant maritime activity, The trade was further enlarged towards East and along the coast northwards. Very large chips sailed from Chola parts not only to western world but also to Ganges .....to Chryse Chersonese (the exact equivalent to Suvarnadvipa or Malay Peninsula) Buddhist literature gives a number of examples of navigation in Bay of Bengal and the Indian ocean and the ceaseless flow of traffic between Bengal, Ceylon and South Indian port-towns and Burma.[4]

Elphinstone[5] states that the inhabitants of Coromandel coast were the earliest to start maritime activity. V.A. Smith observes"...in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports of the Coromandel or the Chola coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both east and West."[6]

The sources for the political conditions of South are found in the Sangam literature.[7] Broadly Southern India or more precisely Tamilakam[8] or Tamil realm had Vengadam (Tirupathi hill) as the boundary on the north and Kanyakumari in the

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extreme south, and bounded by the seas on the East, West and South. Traditionally this region was under the three major kings and a number of smaller subordinate chiefs.

The first and flourishing port of anchor on the west coast was Barygaza[9] situated on the river Narmada. The two places mentioned by the western mariners are Barygaza and Ozene, respectively the modern Broach and Ujjain.

'From Barygaza, the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly led the south and the country is there called Dakhinapades because Deccan language of the natives signify south.'[10]

Vincent[11] says that the author of Periplus gives the true direction to western coast upto Cape Comorin. A list of ports and their imports and exports have been mentioned in the Periplus and by Ptolemy, viz., Soparaka (modern Sopara, 8 miles north of Bombay) Calliana (Kalyan, the natural terminus of Ter, Paithan route) Paithan, Tagara etc. have been tentatively identified. As the Andhra-Satvahana empire extended to the Bombay coast and its environs, naturally there was a brisk trade with the outside world; from Broach to Tondis, the whole stretch of North Konkan and present Karnataka coast had many ports, towns and harbours.[12]

The northern-most port of call in the Malabar coast was Tondis. It is taken as the first port on the west and east coasts. The last port of call, falls near the present Madras city. All the important ports have been briefly described along with their merchandise. "Some of these names may be identified in Indian lists of what was evidently regarded by the authors, as the most famous ports or naval stations of the then known world."[13]

There were also other towns which supplied the products and finished materials for export. They formed a strong background for the trade facilities and movement of goods. Some more places mentioned by Ptolemy are yet to be identified.

Tundis :[14]

It was one of the important twin ports (the other one Muziris) of the Chera kingdom, called by Pliny; Caelabothras; by the author Periplus : Keprobothras; by Ptolemy; Keprabothras. Sangam literature mentions this port in as many as twenty-four references.[15] One Tamil poet described this bounded 'by groves of cocanut trees bearing heavy bunches of frillis, a wide expanse of rice fields, verdant hills, bright sandy tracts and a salt river, whose glossy waters are covered with flowers of brilliant colours.[16] In history, it had all along been mentioned as one of the main anchoring stations. Pliny and Ptolemy agree in fixing the northern limit of the the Tamil country on the Malabar coast above Tundis.

Regarding Tundis, in connection with Muziris, the geographical information of the author of Periplus is as follows :

"To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotas (Cheraputra) styled Limurike (Tamilakam), the first mart of which is Naura, then Tundis, a large village close to the sea-shore; Muziris, which pertains to the same stream is a city at the height of pros-

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perity frequented as it is by the ships from Ariake and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies at a river from Tundis 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river; Naura, Tundis and Muziris are succeeded by Nelcynda, from Muziris is also nearly 500 stadia, but it belongs to a different kingdom i.e. Pandion."[17]

Tundis has been equated with Kadalundi about 10 miles south of Calicut on the coast,. Muziris was equi-distant from Nelcynda and Tundis; Naura and Tundis were marts and Muziris and Nelcynda were the seats of Government, so the author of Periplus affirm.[18]

The literary evidence has been confirmed by numismatic finds. In 1946 at a place called Eyyal,[19] near Cochin was unearthed "Indian punch-marked silver coins, with dated gold and silver Roman coins, on the highway between the ancient emporiums of Muziris and Tundis."

After Tundis, Ptolemy mentions two towns Brahmagara and Kalaikarias.[20] The former lies south of Tundis. Kalaikarias, meaning 'the coast' (Karias) identifies with 'Chalacoory' to the north-east of Cranganore.

Muziris is the port 'par execellance' on the Malabar Coast. Its importance as informed by Pliny "to those bound for India it is most convenient to depart from Okelis (?). They sail then with the wind of Hippalus in 40 days to the first emporium of India Muziris, which is not a desirable place to arrive at, on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood who held the place called Nitrias, while it is not well supplied with merchandise.[21] He informs moreover, when the traders started their sail from Egypt they carried troops on board well armed for defence.

Naura :

This place is still not yet properly identified. It was on the northern-most extremity of west coast. It was a strong *forte* of the pirates on the coastal waters. McCrindle identifies it with Honavar (Honnavuru). But Schoff identifies it with Cannanore. He bases the latter on the evidence of numismatic finds. Saletore maintains the identification of Nitria with Honnavuru.[22]

There is a distinction to be made of these three names; Naura of the author of Periplus, Nitria of Pliny and Nitra of Ptolemy. Naura is identified with Honaver on the Sharvati river, on which are the falls of Gersoppa. Yule identifies Naura with Mangalore. The distance from Honavur to Mangalore is 165 km. From Honavur to Cannanore it is 200 km. Pliny's statement that Nitria is further south than what is given by the author of Periplus. The point to be decided is to find out, whether the place was situated in Andhra-Satavahana territory or in Tamil kingdom. But evidences prove that this is the northern most point of Tamil land. Pliny even affirms that Nitria was in the neighbourhood of Muziris. It is difficult, either to affirm or to disprove without a proper search of the area.

Another factor regarding the pirates; what was the exact region of the pirates? Nitria is mentioned by Ptolemy as the stronghold of the pirates; he places it near

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Mangalore;[23] As Naura of Periplus is placed near Honavar by Schoff, McCrindle and Saletore, it is to be assumed that piratical region was a shifting factor during these times. It is not clear whether all these three names (Naura, Nitria, Nitra) are one and the same; or suggestive of a region which was not easily approachable for travellers and traders due to the pirate-menace. Saletore states that "the coast from somewhere near Ratnagiri district down to Mangalore was noted for Indian maritime adventures, whom Ptolemy like all western travellers and geographers styles as pirates."[24] The distance from Ratnagiri to Manglore as the crow flies is nearly 450 km.

However, until further evidence confirms, it is difficult to fix the correct boundary of the so called "piratical region.

Muziris :[25]

It has been identified with Muyirikotta, modern Cranganore. It was one of the enviable ports on the western sea-board for two reasons: (a) the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus and consequent shortening of the voyage, at a stretch, raised this small sea-town of Malabar coast into a port of international importance; (b) the articles of largest demand in the western world and China, were brought here for export. It became a rendezvous for traders of various nationalities and a 'stock exchange' for bullion market and other precious and valuable products. It can be stated that in matter of trade all roads led to Muziris.[26]

Tamil literature[27] gives evidence of this port and its activities. Sangam classics disclose that when Cheran Sanguttuvan was ruling, Muziris was a flourishing sea-port frequented by foreign ships. A stanza in Aham[28] (one of the many Sangam classica) mentions the Yavanas come in their finely shaped vessels loaded with specis and return freighted with pepper which create foam in the swirling waters of Chulli. A stanza in Puram says that pepper heaped in courtyards of houses at Muziris is put in bags and these bags make the shore grown with their weight.[29]

The chief article[30] which brought the western traders to India, is pepper. Other items of Roman trade on the Malabar coast comprised of :

(a) spices and perfumes
(b) precious stones and pearls (from southern sea)
(c) silk, muslin and cotton.

These luxurious goods were utilised in Roman world for religious and funeral rites. Pliny refers that pepper and ginger were brought in weight like gold and silver. Pepper also served as spice to preserve meat and other perishable food stuffs. It is also an ingredient for the preporation of medicines.

In ancient times pepper was the main produce adjoining the Malabar coast. The author of Periplus names Tundis, Muziris, Nelcynda and Bacare as the ports from which pepper was exported. The ships, he tells, which frequent these ports are of a large size on account of the great bulkiness of pepper and betal which formed the main part of their cargoes.

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The pearl fisheries of the Southern Sea, have been worked from immemorial times where flocked these merchants. Among stones, the highly priced one was beryl,[31] found in India, only in one place. i.e. Padiyur in Coimbatore district, "believed to be the finest and purest in the world". The demand was also for silk, muslin and cotton sold at fabulously high price.

Nelcynda :[32]

It was an island town situated on a river about fifteen miles (100 stadia) away from the sea; the vessels proceeded from this place empty, due to the shallowness of waters and came upto Bacare for cargo. Bacare was situated at the mouth of the river Baris, the former was identified with Purakkattu, 16 km south of Aleppey harbour and the latter (Baris) on the river Pampa in south Travancore. The distance from Muziris to Nelcynda was 500 stadia (100 km.). Nelcynda has been identified with Nakkita, about 22 km up the river Pampa, from Purakkad. Moreover the finds of coins reveal interes ting evidence.[33] One coin of Augustus was found from here. In Kottayam, a few miles north of Nelcynda, a hoard was unearthed representing *aurei* of Augustus-Nero (c. A.D. 68) R. Caldwell reported *aurei* in Calicut, situated near the Tundis port.

It is interesting to note that Nakkita meaning space between two branches of rivers; actually two rivers Manimala and Achankovil joins at this place with Pampa and that it is probably in the first century A.D. too these three rivers met together.[34] It is a proof of the inland river traffic, for the pepper was coming in large boats from Kottooarika to Nelcynda.

The author of Periplus informs Bacare and Nelcynda were in the Pandyan territory and that the latter is the seat of Government. The export from this port was many and varied. In the words of the author of Periplus :

'The principal articles obtained here is pepper which is the staple of the country as growing in the interior, is brought down to this port in preference to all others and is of a species called *cottonarikon*, great quantities of the best pearl are likewise purchased here, ivory silk in the web, spikenard from Ganges, betel from countries further east, transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds, rubies and tortoise-shell from Golden Chersonese or from the islands of the coast of Limurike.[35]

Imports include 'Gold stone, chrysolite, flowered robes, stibilium, a pigment for eyes, white glass, copper or tin, lead and wine.'[36]

Almost all the maritime trade was concentrated on this part of the country; the exports, imports listed were a suggestive proof of the vast commercial intercourse with outside world, and further inland to towns as far on to the river Ganges and countries further east.

Kottonarike[37] was one of the important towns, famous for the produce of best pepper in huge quantity, feeding both Muziris and Nelcynda ports. But Ptolemy did not mention this place. This has been identified with Kadattanadu in Calicut country;[38] others place it with Kolattanadu a district above Tellicherry.

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Paralia : [39]

This was in the Pandyan territory. It is included in the former Travancore state, whose ancient name was Parali. The mountains that girdle around Travancore was called Pyrrhos (red) by the Greek mariners. Silappadikaram calls these ghats 'Chenkunram' meaning 'red mountains'. The district on the sea-coast stretches from Purakkad to Cape Camorin, and beyond Korkai,. The pearl fisheries of this place belongs to Pandyan King.

Cape Camorin :

At last one reaches the tip of the Peninsula called by modern name Kanyakumari or Cape Camorin known in ancient times as Komar 'where is the cape of the same name and a haven'.[40]

Apart from its commercial importance being famous for its pearl fisheries, it was a sacred place of pilgrimage from ancient times. The Greeks[41] narrate that this was frequented by people to perform rites, ceremonies and take bath here. It is connected with a Goddess; doubtless it is even now a famous sacred spot. Geographically its importance is immense; it served as a convenient place of anchor for proceeding to Taprobane (Ceylon) and to Coromandel Coast.

Korkai: [42]

Lassen identified it with Kilakarai of Madura Coast, famous for pearl-fisheries. Caldwell[43] who explored in and around this place, and conducted a small trial excavation in the last quarter of the past century states, "the Greeks represented it as the headquarters between Cape Kumari and the place Koti or present Rameshwaram, an emporium of the same trade. Definitely this was the Korkai as all Tamil traditions point out; the place was under Pandyan kingdom. Futher away was Kayal which developed as a port, when Korkai became out of use, the Cael of Marco Polo."

Both these were situated on the delta of Tamraparni—Korkai within 5 miles and Kayal 2 miles away from the sea. It is interesting to find the reason for their abandonment as ports. Caldwell adduces them as the work of nature. The accumulation of the silt in the sea near the mouth of the river —or the land rose—or for both causesmade a cause for the inconveience of the ships to anchor and the geology of the region also proves the same. This is one of the revealing factors.

The trial excavations of Caldwell at Korkai does not give any trace of Greek or Roman finds, excepting the Megalithic urn burials etc., a custom prevalent in the early centuries of christian era. But nearby Korkai was the royal mint (Akkasala) which prove the antiquity of this place.

Sasikourai : [44]

Ptolemy informs that this place was situated in 'Kolkhic' Gulf; identified as Tuttukundi (Tuticorin) situated on the Tamraparni river, a harbour in *Tirunelveli* district, where there were pearl banks about ten miles south of Korkai.

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After Korkai, is the Gulf called by Ptolemy, Orgalicnow the Palk Bay. He also mentions a promontory called Koru and beyond a city called Salour.[45] Periplus informs that this place is famous for manufacture of muslins adorned with small pearls.[46]

Koru :[47]

It is at the tip of India, identified with Koti of Tamil "the island promontory of Rameswaram, the point of India from which there was nearest of access from South India and Ceylon." Trade relations were carried on from here to far off places in the Gangetic plains and Golden Chersonese (the Malay Peninsula).

On the other side of the sea-board, the Coromandel Coast also had many important sea-ports, out of which three have been mentioned in order by the author of Periplus[48] to be of immense significance.

(a) Kamara
(b) Podouka and
(c) Sopatma

He further narrates "to these the traders from Limurike and other provinces north of Limurike resort; in the marts are found the native vessels which make coasting voyages to Limurike, the Monoxola, the Sangara, the largest of them and the other Colondiphonta which are vessels of great bulk adapted to the voyages made to Ganges and Golden Chersonese."[49]

Kamara :[49]

This emporium port 'par execellence' on the Coromandel Coast had been identified with Kaverippatinam or Puhar, in the Chola kingdom.[50] Ptolemy calls this port Khaberis emporium.

This port town so significantly described in a vivid manner finds corroboration in Tamil literature, the magnitude and magnificence of which cannot fail to bring home to our minds, "the throbbing international life, pervading the entire Tamilakam." The best of detailed account is found in Pattinappālai and Silappadikāram. This place served both as a port and the capital of the early Colas. The inland capital was Uraiyur.

This emporium[51] was situated on the northern bank of Kaveri river, then a broad and deep-stream into which heavily laden ships entered from the sea without slacking sail. It should have been one of the busiest port in the eastern-sea board. It was the place of rendezvous for traders of many of the nationalities both from East and West.

The merchandise brought to the port of Puhar included[52] war horses that came by sea, bags of black pepper brought over-land by cart, gems and gold from the northern mountain, sandal and agil wood from western mountain, pearls of the southern sea and coral of the eastern sea, the products of the Ganges basin and Kaveri Valley, foodstuffs from Ceylon and luxuries from Kadaram besides other rare and precious products.

No doubt it was a cosmopolitan city where people of different nationalities, speaking different languages lived amicably together and contributed to its vast and

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increasing wealth and prosperity. Further, we are informed, the merchants were not greedy cheats, but honest dealers, who were content with a modest profit. feared wrong and spoke truth, and gave the same consideration to the interests of their customers as to their own.

A detailed account of the city has been found in Canto V of Silappadikaram. The town was divided into two Maruvūrppākkam near the sea and Pattinappākkam to its west. Near the beach in Maruvūrppākkam were raised platforms and godowns where the goods landed from ships were stored. Here the goods were marked with Tiger stamp (the emblem of the Chola kings) after payment of customs duty and passed on to merchant's warehouses.[53]

Nearby are the abodes of prosperous Yavanas whose pleasant features arrested the eyes of spectators and of other foreigners who for the gains from their maritime trade lived close to one another on friendly terms. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders of flowers and incense, tailors who worked on silk, wood or cotton, traders in sandal, agil, coral, pearl gold and precious stones grain merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salts, butchers, blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, coppersmiths, painters, cobblers, sculptors and toymakers—all had their habitations in Maruvūrppākkam.[54]

In the Pattinappākam were the broad street, the car and the bazaar street etc. The palaces of the Chola king in Kaverippatinam has been described as magnificent building built by 'skilled artisans from Magada, mechanics from Maradam, smiths from Avanti, carpenters from Yavana and the cleverest workmen from Tamil-land.[55]

Evidences are also found of the light houses built of brick and mortar which exhibited blazing lights at night to guide ships. It is enough to show the international importance of Puhār during those days. *Pattinam*: normally meaning a port-town and is doubtless that this is the port under reference in Pattinappalai.

Nikama :

This is Nagapattinam situated about 16 km south of Karaikal, also on the sea-board was an important-mart in the latter days. This has been mentioned by Ptolemy.[56]

Podouke :

It has been stated in Periplus[57] that this town was situatted north of Kaveripattinam. All that can be stated is that this Poduke is consistently equated with Pudu-Chcheri[58] or the present Pondicherry, 60 miles north of Tranquebar and nearly 90 miles south along the sea-coast from Madras. It is corroborated with the discoveries and excavations conducted at Arikamedu, in the environs of Pondicherry harbour in 1945 and confirmed of its importance as "one of the Indo-Roman trading stations on the Coromandel coast.[59]

Sopatma :

This place is still to be properly identified. On the basis of the phonetical form *sopattinam* it has been equated with Eyil-*pattinam* the Tamil words—'So' and 'Eyil'

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meaning 'a wall' or 'rampart' and identified with 'Marakkanam' in Tindivanam taluq of Sout Arcot district, lying on the sea coast, twenty miles north of Pondicherry. Schoff states that this fair-town may be Madras. But on the basis of epigraphy and Tamil Literature it has been recently equated with Tiru-Pilavayil, the present day Vayalur, nearly 40 miles north of Pondicherry, on the river Palar, near its confluence with the sea.

These are some of the important ports, as found in the sources, consistent to their past, and present affiliations. Originally many port towns further north of Khaberis emporium have been listed by geographer Ptolemy. But to this day they have not been identified. Dubreuil has pointed out that between Khaberis Emporium and the Ganges not a single place mentioned by Ptolemy would be identified with any amount of certainty. Sastri[60] omits the whole from identification due to the inconsistencies found in Ptolemy's accounts.

The over-all effects of trade materially affected both giving and receiving countries. The Greek influence is seen in many ways. The superior arms and discipline of the Greek soldiers made the Tamils to acquire and learn for themselves—Pandyan kings enlisted Roman soldiers in their army. During the reign of Pondya-Aryan-Padai-Kadantha Nedunjelian,[61] Roman soldiers were employed to guard the gates of Madurai. The Romans also kept two cohorts of force at Muziris to protect their rights and privileges. A temple is started to have been erected for Augustus near Calicut and the map of India of Peutinger marks the word '*templum Augusto*' on the place where Tundis and Muziris occur.[62]

Vincent Smith states "there is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of the Christian era and the European soldiers described as powerful 'Yavanas' and dumb 'Mlechchas' clad in complete armour acted as bodyguards to Tamil Kings, while the beautiful large ships of Yavanas lay off Muziris (Cranganore) to receive the cargoes of pepper paid by the Roman world."[63]

Politically also the contacts of trade developed on a diplomatic level and many embassies were sent from India,[64] as courtesy calls on the eve of the crowning of Emperors in Rome or to renew the trading rights and privileges.

Strabo mentions that a mission or an embassy was sent to Caesar in 20 B.C. by Indian king perhaps, Pandion. The first envoy sent from India to Augustus (29 B.C.—A.D. 14) seems to be from Popus.[65] But an embassy was also sent from Pandion of South. The next attested embassy was from Ceylon in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) and reported by Pliny. The third is mentioned in passing, by Dio Cassius in the reign of Trajan (A.D.98-117). After this Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) received messages of friendship from Bactrian and Indian kings. Next is a list of Ambassadors paying homage to the virtues of Antonius Pius (A.D. 138-161).

All these embassies sent have more significance than they superficially seem to be. But we do not have any information regarding their actual purport-nor do we have any idea how many more sent and received; we learn that such embassies were received 'frequently' at Rome.

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Moreover all these diplomatic exchanges during this period corresponded to the brisk business activity on the Western and Eastern sea-boards with the Egyptian and Roman World. A number of geographers and writers of natural history lived in this period. The Greek mininer Hippalus had already discovered the monsoons route to India in the first century A.D. Strabo was busy writing his book in the reign of Augustus (*circa.*) A.D. 19) Pliny had completed his work in A.D. 77. The author of 'Periplus' was compiling his account in the middle of first century A.D. Ptolemy wrote his masterly account in A.D. 150, Peutinger Tables were composed in A.D. 22?. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna had catalogued the political divisions of the countries in about fourth century A.D.

Further an Indian embassy to Syria is reported in A.D. 218 to welcome the Emperor Elangabalus (A.D. 218-222) to the throne. Aurelian (A.D. 270-75) after his triumph in A.D. 274 received ambassadors from India also. Constantine received Indian (A.D. 306-337) embassies in A.D. 337. This is followed by an embassy to Julian A.D. 361-63, from India.

Let us see the effect of trade and commerce on the Roman world itself. The gates of Roman empire allowed the Indian goods to flood their markets. The best of them are luxury commodities like pearls, spices, gems, drugs and muslins. Pearls became the rage among the fashionable ladies, Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) had to pass a law prohibiting transparent silk as an indecent dress. Emperor Nero (A.D. 54-68) decked his shoes with pearls. The very fact when Pliny laments (A.D.77) of wasteful imports of these luxuries and the enormous gold bullion, is an attested information for this.

So far the evidence are mainly based upon the available literature and traveller's accounts; they do not give full details save the names of the places and their importance. What are the archaeological evidence that have been discovered so far, guiding to reconstruct the *baric-a-brac* of the trade contacts? Whether the excavated sites give any correct chronological stratum of the existence of the trade relationship with the western world? What are the places at which these evidence come up that ultimately prove the importance as a place of vital link in maritime trade?

The answer to the above can be divided into two parts (a) Numismatic and (b) Cultural Assemblage, pottery (alien and indigenous) and other antiquities from excavations.

Numismatic :

An important evidence of Roman trade with south India is the great multitude of Roman coins found here. Periplus states that large quantities of Roman coins were imported in southern ports. Of the 68 finds in Indian sub-continent (including the present Pakistan)—57 hoards come from south India.[66] Coin count analysis lead to the following conclusions :

(a) There was hardly any commerce between Rome[67] and India *during the* Constantine period (A.D. 305) and onwards.

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(b) The majority of the finds (nearly 39 hoards) distributed in south India comprise *aurei* or *denarii* ranging from Augustus 29 B.C.—A.D. 14) to Trajan (A.D. 98-117). From Augustus to Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) the coins predominate. After the time of Nero (A.D. 54-68) they dwindle markedly. The trade was continued futher after Cara Calla (A.D. 211-217) it almost entirely ceased. Another distinct class of small copper coins well worn out by regular circulation found at Madur are suggested to have been minted locally for daily domestic use by Roman traders resident here.

(c) The first century coins found from south are invaribaly of gold or silver.

(d) The great majority of Roman coins discovered were almost between western to eastern coasts, in Coimbatore and Madurai districts.

Mortimer Wheeler[68] attributes these finds of hoards of Roman coins, gold and silver to an essentially economic factor. The imports included Roman gold and silver coins. They were employed not as currency but as bullion. The hoard meant "a unit of stamped silver or gold to a total weight agreed for some specific purchase."[69]

The mutilation of some gold coins found in hoards (i.e. incision or hole pierced on them, later used as pendants) he[70] reasons the cancellation of the piece as a coin issue. These coins cover a wider range of time viz. from Claudius (A.D. 41-54) to Hadrian (A.D. 17-138) and one in Constantine's time (A.D. 305 onwards). In north the Kushana emperors of the second century A.D., absorbed all these Roman gold and regulated or reminted them.

Excavations also reveal *vis-a-vis* good evidence of Indo-Roman trade in the first century A.D. One has to wait for nearly three quarters of a century after Caldwell for new light to be thrown upon this most important period of south Indian History.

More revealing were the actual excavations conducted by Mortimer Wheeler on one of the emporiums of Roman trade on the Coromandel coast. It is at the port of Arikamedu, two miles south of Pondicherry equated with the Podouke of Periplus. French archaeologists were for a long time intermittently tapping this place for evidences. But in 1945 systematic excavations were conducted by Mortimer Wheeler[71] and later by J. M. Casal[72] in 1947-48. The excavations revealed the buildings and structures of which one was a ware-house for storage accommodation, other quays, industrial quarters, etc. But the original town has not yet been identified.

The excavator dates the main development of the port approximately to the middle of the first century A.D.[73]; he comes to this conclusion basing upon the discovery of the Red Glazed Arretine ware of Italy (31 sherds in this site). Moreover the stratigraphic evidence proves that most of the brick buildings were constructed after Arretine ware had ceased to arrive from Italy, where its manufacture in that form and fabric now in question came to an end by about A.D. 45. But the Roman wine-amphorae preceded the former and continued to be imported later also. The place as a port of international importance "must have begun nearly half-a-century earlier (A.D. 1) if the deposit about 2.7 m. containing Roman amphorae under warehouse be taken as an index." He suggests a terminal date to A.D. 200 for the abandonment of the port.

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Other wares which may have been imported include a metallic pottery blackened internally by inverted firing with concentric rings of rouletting on the upper surface of the base. Antiquities include, Roman lamps, glass etc. Characteristically enough, coins of the period Roman or Indian were completely absent. Wheeler adduces the reason that the imported currency was not circulated.

The port town of Kaverippattinam has been exteusively explored by the Archeological Survey of India (1963-68) and excavations have been done for four field seasons.

Explorations have revealed its antiquity as a Chola capital and a port of Indo-Roman trade.[74] Many historical sites were noticed stretching along 8 km beach-head from Neidavasal in the north to Vanagiri to the south. Early historical to medieval vestiges were found from Kaverippattinam on the East to Radhanallur on the west. The sites located are Kilaiyur, Melaiyur, Vellaiyyaniruppu, Sayavanam, Pallavaneesvaram, Kilperumpallam, Melperumpallam, Manigramam, Radhanallur etc. Surface collections include, Megalithic Black and Red Ware, Rouletted Ware: square copper coins from Vanagiri and Neidavasal, irregular ones from Sayavanam, a Roman copper coin from Vellaiyaniruppu etc. The square coins portrayed a standing tiger with uplifted tail on one side and elephant on the other. It is quite unique, possibly belonging to the Cholas.

A huge and massive brick platform has been revealed at Kilaiyur with wooden posts at corners. This platform could have been used as a wharf and the wooden posts were cap stones to which the boats were tied.

Vanagiri has revealed a brick structure 2 m high with a brick-built channel branching off from river Kaveri would suggest it to be a water tank. The inlet has a corbelled roof and possess mouldings with chamfered and rounded edges. Black and Red and Rouletted ware found indicate it datable to the first century A.D. and later.

Buddhist establishment of ancient Puhar seems to have developed around the modern village of Pallavaneesvaram. A bronze Buddha, a terracotta deity (female), limestone Buddhapada were also recovered. The structural remains indicate a brick-built Vihara with pillars, abacus, moulded bricks etc. The other datable finds include Rouletted ware, 'Megalithic' Black and Red Ware besides copper coins of the early Cholas.

Malaiyur and Sayavanam have also yielded a Buddhist monastic complex and ring-wells respectively datable to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Korkai,[75] famous for its pearl fisheries in district Tirunelveli has revealed a settlement going back to the first century B.C. upto the medieval times. Since it was only a limited excavation, much could not be stressed except that availability of antiquities reveal it as a centre for pearl fisheries.

Vasavasamudram[76] a site in Palar system, 17 km south of the ancient art-centre and town of Mamallapuram in district Chingleput was a salvage excavation which has revealed a settlement of the historical times. Here a few conical jars resembling the Roman Amphorae and a few pieces of Roman rouletted ware were found. Structural

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remains included two ring-wells. All these belong to the early centuries of the Christian era and possibly the settlement was short-lived.

Other ancient settlements[77] in the interior along the Kaveri basin also have revealed significant evidence during this period. Some of them rose to the pre-eminence of provincial centres and one of them is a capital town of considerable importance.

Excavations have been carried out at Perur, Alagarai, Tirukkampuliyur, Uraiyur situated in Kaveri delta which have revealed settlements datable to the second and the first century B.C.

Uraiyur[78] has yielded remains of brick structures identified as dyeing vats. The finds of Arretine and Rouletted ware alongwith Black and Red ware and other objects of every day use indicate it was a brisk centre of industrial and commercial activity during the early centuries of Christian era.

Alagarai[79] in district Tiruchchirappali has also yielded evidence of a rich settlement and in addition it was a centre of bead and bangle industry especially of shell, and it had a sustained occupation upto the medieval times.

An overall assessment of the evidence so far reveal that many small settlements along Kaveri, Palar and Tamraparni basins begin to develop in about the first century B.C. upto the early centuries of the Christian era. The growth of these settlements is accentuated by contemporary development of industry and crafts of various kinds and the movement of goods is revealed by their known finds in simultaneous contexts. All these suggest the diffusion and spread either by trade or by means of movement of people from one place and the other.

Discussion :

The geographical distribution of the Roman coins arrest attention. Particularly major hoards were found from district Coimbatore and neighbouring areas. The position of this place in the map is quite interesting. It is a rendezvous for western and eastern Ghats, a transverse gap naturally formed about 20 miles wide called Palghat Gap which offer an opening both for Karnataka plains and for Calicut and Cochin. The earliest trade from Muziris and Nelcynda to Podouke, Khaberis, etc., should have taken place *via*. this gap rather than crossing the whole Malabar Coast and reach Coromandel Coast. The inland road and river traffic offered a better scope than the overland sea route with all incessant perils and attendant difficulties, The evidence for this comes from literature supplemented by excavation findings. The early writers on India, particularly the author of Periplus and Pliny are not clear in their accounts beyond Muziris. McCrindle informs that Periplus stops giving account beyond Nelcynda and rest of the places have been summarily treated. Only Ptolemy lists the other major ports and places in the interior aud the coastal towns. It clearly shows that in the early days of trade, the communications to the towns of Coromandel Coast was along the land route or directly by sea and reach Kamara or Podouke without touching any port.

The excavations at Arikamedu discloses that it was a flourishing sea-port of international importance particularly with reference to the finding of Arretine Ware and

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other antiquities in this place. It reveals, (a) the ports on the western sea board at that time were not of so much importance (b) that the direct contact form this place with West without touching any ports on the western sea board and (c) from Muziris the land route *via*. the Palghat gap was adopted as a normal recourse to reach the inland towns and the ports on the eastern coast.

Incidentally the geographical importance of the rivers Ponnani and Kaveri need not be overstressed; both have their sources in Western Ghats, but flow in opposite directions; the former joins the Arabians sea and the latter merges in the Bay of Bengal. Both these rivers should have amply served as carriers of merchandise particularly the whole district of Coimbatore was a fertile region for "pepper estates doubtless spread as today on and below the 3000' contour in the fringes of the district." Thus Coimbatore and other nearby ancient towns were a centre of incessant business activity connecting both the regions. Wheeler prophetically states "there is reason to suppose that search would reveal amply, evidence of occupation hereabouts and excavation is now the necessary preliminary to further knowledge."

One more fact need be told in this regard. Other than Coimbatore, the majority of coins were found in the town along both coast lines. It is necessary to investigate when exactly the period of rounding the Cape Kanyakumari was adopted as a normal means of communication. What was the age and time when these marts and ports flourished? For e.g. from Nelcynda to Khaberis Emporium and beyond were very flourishing centres of trade when Ptolemy describes them during the later half of the second century A.D. That shows these ports beyond Muziris can be dated to late for their development as port towns. To what reasons could this be adduced? Is it due to the piratical menace on the Malabar Sea coast or the fear and time that delayed the rounding of the Cape? It seems as if that this menace was an occurrence of the past when Ptolemy was visiting this place;[80] we hear from literature[81] that Cearan Shengut-tuvan had a naval engagement (with pirates) after which Muziris became a flourishing sea port.

Unfortunately, all the hoards of coins that have been found so far were not from actual excavated sites; either they were stray finds or accidental discoveries unearthed by plough in fields or chance digging. Even the trial excavations of Korkai or Kayal by Caldwell failed to produce any coins. Unfortunately, no Roman coins have been found in archaeological excavations in any cultural assemblage, so that we could be sure of the contacts and their influence on the local culture.

Many questions remain unanswered in this important period of south Indian History :

(a) The date of Hippalus and the discovery of monsoons is still a matter of discussion, since the development of most of the trade depended upon this factor.

(b) When trade expanded further and business relations became closer with Rome, what was the reaction of south Indian Kings Literature is silent on this part of the subject.

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(c) When the Roman traders established their stations along the coastal towns, did they also proceed further inland as carriers of commerce? Wheeler states on the evidence of numismatic finds that Romans penetrated further inland. But Jean Filliozat disagrees and states 'their journeys to the interior, were very probable, but the gold which paid for the goods might have travelled without their having to act as intermediaries, being carried by the traders who despatched the goods to the coast for delivery to the former.[82]

(d) Another problem very often discussed is the beginning, growth, development and decay of commercial relations with the West. Various reasons have been given for their growth and decline, mostly based upon coin finds in India and the confusion of political conditions at Rome in the third century A.D. A restricted date has been adopted for the growth and decline of trade from first century A.D. to the end of the second century A.D. But all finds of coins are from surface or from chance digging.

(e) Already a body of evidence has been revealed by excavations of a few port towns. This cultural material point to a considerable extent of the availability of basic data that support the literature, tradition and travellers' accounts.

There port-towns on the south-eastern sea-board (Arikamedu, Kaveripattinam, Korkai) have revealed artefacts though piecemeal in nature has confirmed to the availability of evidence of the commercial relationship with the West and the Mediterranean. Excavations are not systematic in nature or continuous to get the entire evidence.

Similar is the case with the settlement towns along the main river systems that played a vital role in linking inland commercial centres and the coastal marts and port-towns. Two river systems viz. the Kaveri and Palar basins have been subjected to sporadic explorations and a few settlements have been excavated which have revealed sufficient data to basically put the cultural material and discuss for a two-way traffic connecting the inland centres and coastal towns. Evidence from Kaveri basin reveal the uniformity of features of the cultural assemblage that testify to the extension of contacts all along and possibly this is one of the vital links that kept up the movement of goods from the Western coast to the Eastern marts as well as the inland settlements.

The cultural material at the same time testify to the gradual increase in settlement pattern all along the Kaveri basin itself is a pointer to the development of land-communication and movement of goods and trade in general sometime during the formative period of the pre-Christian era.

What is indeed necessary is to have a planned programme of explorations along both the river systems and the coastal towns and subject the strategic centres to systematic excavations, so that the cultural material could add to a substantial extent to the historical archaeology of Peninsular India.

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24

Bhottavisti : Its Nature and Collection

RANABIR CHAKRAVARTI

In the fiscal system of ancient and early medieval India *viṣṭi* or forced labour was one of the wellknown and prevalent types of impost. Epigraphic and literary—both legal treatises and popular literature—sources contain considerable information regarding the institution of *viṣṭi*.[1] The *viṣṭi* was of various types may be inferred from the expression *sarvva-veṣṭi* (i.e. *sarvva-viṣṭi* meaning all kinds of *viṣṭi*) occurring in certain epigraphic records.[2]

The present paper is concerned with one such type of *viṣṭi* called *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*. The term in question, however, does not occur in any Indian record or text, but was known at least in ancient Nepal. Two inscriptions supply us with interesting information on the topic under discussion.

The first record, the Lagan Tole Inscription, was written on a "slab of black slate, leaning against the wall of a small modern temple of Viṣṇu, situated in Lagan Tole, Kathmandu."[3] The inscription belongs to the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* Śivadeva and is dated in Saṁvat 119. R.C. Majumdar considers that Śivadeva ruled from A.D. 687 to at least A.D. 703 and places the Lagan Tole record in A.D. 697.[4] The second inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, its upper part and date being illegible. This record, discovered in the village of Thimi by Lévi, discloses the name of *Rājaputra* Jayadeva as the messenger [*Iti svayamājñā dūtakaścatra rājaputra Jayadevaḥ*].[5] Interestingly enough, the Lagan Tole Inscription refers to a homonymous person as the messenger (*dūtaka*) of that record. There is, therfore, a distinct possibility that both records mentioning the same person as *dūtaka* were issued during the reign of one single king, i.e. Śivadea.

We may now examine the contents of the record one by one. The Lagan Tole Inscription states that Vaidyagrama was made a revenue-free village for perpetuity by Śivadeva to the congregation of the Pāśupatas named Vasu (Vaṃśa) Pāśupatācāryyas for the sake of the deity Śivadeyeśvara. The residents of the village are asked to pay their customary dues and taxes in cash and kind in favour of the deity. Here is thus a common instance of transference of revenue by the order of the political authority who henceforth would normally renounce his fiscal claims over the village. This also seems to have been supported by the epithet *agrahāra* attatched to this village.

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The inscription states that five load-carriers would be annually procured by the *vyavasāyīs* from this revenue-free village on account of *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* [...*asminagrahāra bhoṭṭaviṣṭihetoḥ prativarṣam bhārikajanāḥ pañca 5 vyavasāyibhirgrahitavyā*]. Without going into further details *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭ* at once appears to have been a very important impost, at least from the point of view of the state, since it continued to be levied even from an *agrahāra*. A more significant quary emerges concerning the position of persons empowered to raise *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*. The term *vyavasāyī* is translated as 'authorities' by Bhagawanlal Indraji, probably implying that they were revenue officers of the State.[6] On the other hand, it is rather unusual to consider *vyavasāyīs* as royal officers. Following Basak the term should normally be taken to mean merchants.[7] In that case one may logically ask why merchants—of all persons—would be entrusted to raise a particular type of *viṣṭi* in place of regular revenue officials.

Turning to the Thimi Inscription, the following royal order is found therein : ...*viṣṭimanuṣyasambandhena prativarṣam vat purāṇaśata...bhya eva grāmīṇair dātavyam rājakulīyavyavasāyibhistu na kadācidanyathā karttavyam*. There is, thus, a reference to the annual payment in cash (in silver coins or *Purāṇas*) by villagers in connexion with *viṣṭimanuṣya*. Moreover, one comes across the expression *rājakulīyavyavasāyi*. Since both the inscriptions refer to the rendering of some kind of *viṣṭi*, the *vyavasāyī* of the Lagan Tole Inscription entrusted with the collection of that *viṣṭi*, may logically be equated with the *rājakulīyavyavasāyī* of the Thimi Inscription. The expression *rājakulīya-vyasāyī* appears to have denoted a merchant associated with and/or employed by a royal family. Available data, coming from different regions of the subcontinent and datable to various periods, show that in ancient India existed a special category of traders called *rājaśreṣṭhī* or royal merchant. Sometimes the name of the dynasty which employed such a merchant, was attatched to his epithet *seṭṭi* (e.g. *Coḷa-seṭṭi*, *Poysalaseṭṭi*/*Hoysala-seṭṭi* etc). The exact function(s) of royal merchants cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge; but they at least appear to have acted as commissioned agents of their masters. They were probably entrusted with procuring choice and costly goods for the king and raising revenues for the same. He is then no ordinary merchant and his outstanding position in the mercantile community remains beyond doubt.[8]

Since the *viṣṭi* in question is closely associated with the royal merchants of Nepal it seems to have been levied to facilitate the activities of the royal merchants. We have already suggested that royal merchants probably acted as the supplier of costly goods to kings. The royal merchant of Nepal, therefore, seems to have been empowered to levy a particular *viṣṭi* to further economic interests of the ruler himself.

The actual term *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* may now be explained. Bhoṭṭa usually stands for Tibet.[9] Following this Bhagawanlal Indraji interpreted *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* as "Tibet-service."[10] Though this may be an accurate literal rendering of the Sanskrit term, its significance cannot be properly understood. U.N. Ghoshal gives the following meaning: "load-carriers for Tibet service, i.e. for officers sent to Tibet."[11] It has already been clearly said that the term *vyavasāyī* or *rājakulīyavyavasāyī* cannot be considered to refer to a royal officer, but actually means 'royal merchant'. The five persons to be procured annually from Vaidyagrāma for carrying loads, therefore, were requisitioned for the

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service of royal merchants. They were probably used as forced labours carrying merchandise of royal merchants. Since this forced labour is called *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*, the merchandise of royal merchants appear to have been carried to or from Tibet.[12]

It would not perhaps be out of place to refer to an interesting fiscal exemption. The Vajraghar Inscription of Narendradeva, Saṁvat 103, records that a particular village was exempted from all sorts of forced labour including *vahirdeśagamana* (*vahirdeśagamanādi savaviṣṭi rahita*).[12a] The expression *vahirdeśagamana* literally means journeying abroad. A kind of *viṣṭi* thus appears to have been levied in Nepal in the form of or in connection with journeying abroad. We have aleady seen that Bhoṭṭa country or Tibet was one of the foreign territories whose tours were regularly undertaken from Nepal for commercial purposes. Such trading tours are known to have required forced labour. *Vahirdeśagamana viṣṭi*, hence, may be considered as some sort of a *begār* imposed upon villagers who were forced to undertake journeys–probably for rendering some economic services–without receiving any payment in lieu of it. *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*, therefore, appears to have been an impost of the *vahirdeśagamana viṣṭi* type.

Attention may be focussed now upon the expression *viṣṭimanuṣya* occurring in the Thimi Inscription. This may mean forced labour (*viṣṭi*) in the form of man (*manuṣya*). In other words, manual labour without any payment in cash or kind is probably implied by this expression. The Lagan Tole Inscription explicitly speaks of a similar kind of manual labour, viz. carrying of loads by coolies (*bhārikajanāḥ*) in the form of begar service. Viewed from this angle, *viṣṭimanuṣya* seems to have stood for rendering a similar service of carrying loads as *begār*.

While the Lagan Tole Inscription states that five load-carriers were to be annually procured on account of *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* (*Bhoṭṭaviṣṭihetoḥ*), the Thimi Inscription speaks of annual payment of several hundred *purāṇas* (silver coins) in connexion with *viṣṭimanuṣya*. So, there is an apparent difference between the methods of levying this *viṣṭi* in two records. D.R. Regmi explains that this *viṣṭi* could be rendered probably in two ways : either by manually labouring without receiving any payment, or by paying a lumpsome amount in cash in lieu of discharging physical labour.[13]

It has already been pointed out that *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* was so important an impost that it had to be raised even from an *agrahāra* village. Judged from this light, it would be rather unlikely on the part of the political authority to have left open a scope of escaping this system of rendering forced labour by making cash payments. The *Agnipurāṇa*, it is interesring to note, recommends that "the labourers shall work for him (i.e. the king) without any remuneration, as long as they shall be fed."[14] The passage contains a reference to unpaid forced labour or *viṣṭi*. It also implies that the king was responsible for providing food to those rendering forced labour. If this was a regular practice, a considerable amount of monetary resources would be required for the maintenance of people rendering begar. The levy of several hundreds of *purāṇas* from villagers in connexion with *viṣṭimanuṣya* then seems to have been expended to provide food and other requirements to persons rendering *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*. If this view is taken into account, the political authority then appears to have maintained forced labourers not at

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his own cost, but extracted the requisite amount from villages which have already provided persons for rendering forced labour. Villagers, therefore, probably had to be taxed in at least two ways : (i) they were to physically render *Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi* each year and (ii) they had to pay in cash for the maintenance of people requisitioned to provide forced labour, levied under government instruction.

Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi, therefore, is levied to procure forced labourers for the benefit of royal merchants of Nepal in connexion with the carrying of merchandise from and to Tibet. The political authority thereof approved of this practice since royal merchants, as commissioned agents of the king, were employed by him to satisfy his own economic interests. This system of appropriating human labour for carrying loads may have closely corresponded to the system of imposing forced carriage of loads introduced in Kashmir by king Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902). This system of corvee was known as *ruḍhabhāroḍhi* and was of thirteen kinds.[15] Stein remarked that this "under the name of *kār-begār* has remained to this day one of the most characteristic features of Kashmir administration."[16]

A mountainous zone like Nepal or Kashmir lying in relative isolation, having little facilities of infrastructure of trade and commerce and being difficult of access, had to depend often largely upon human labour substituting regular transport services. Rulers thereof rarely failed to institutionalize this demand for transport-labour into a systematic fiscal extortion.

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   The *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Niel, Cambridge, 1886, p. 100), datable to the first three centuries of the Christian era speaks of a royal merchant of Benares named Supriya. [B.C. Law, 'The Kāśīs in Ancient India; *Journal of Indian History*, vol. IV, pp. 1-13].

   That the Coḷas employed royal merchants is evident from the reference to a *Rājendra-Coḷa-seṭṭi* figuring in an inscription of Rājendra Coḷa dated in his 9th regnal year (A.D. 1020) [*Epigraphia Carnatica* (Abbv. *E.C.*) vol. IV. p. 83, Inscription No. 10].

   Mention may be made of one Noḷabi seṭṭi who is described as the *seṭṭi* of the Poysaḷas, i.e. Hoysalas (*Poysalaseṭṭi*), who was the *paṭṭaṇasvāmī* of Dorasamudra. He was evidently a royal merchant employed under the Hoysala dynasty. The merchant in question figures in an inscription of A.D. 1125 [*E.C.* vol. IV, p. 99. Inscription No. 3].

   Tne Silahāras also appear to have followed the practice of appointing commissioned agents. Silahāra king Gaṇḍārāditya had a royal merchant named Vesapayyaseṭṭi figuring in an inscription of A.D. 1136 (*Gaṇḍārāditya devasa rāja-śreṣṭhī Vespayyaseṭṭhimum*) [V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. vol. VI, pp. 229-34]. In another inscription from Miraj issued during the reign of Gaṇḍārāditya's son and successor Vijāyāditya (dated A.D. 1143), Miriñjeya Boppanayya-rājaśreṣṭhi is mentioned. This Boppanayya was evidently a royal merchant hailing from Miriñjeya or Miraj. [Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-45].
9. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictianary of Ancient and Medieval India*, New Delhi (1971), p. 33.
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25

Sanjan–A Miniature Bombay in c. A.D. 980

H.D. SANKALIA

Sañjān is reputed to be the earliest Parsi colony. No doubt it was. But it is little known that Sanjan and the surrounding region—the present Thana District, which formed a province (*maṇḍala*) under the Rashtrakutas for nearly four centuries (c. A.D. 700–A.D. 1000) was placed under an Arab governor. Though a Muslim, called Madhumati (for Muhammad) had not only patronized Hindu Temples but invited Brahmanas from North India to settle here.

Thus unique instance of communal harmony 1200 years ago was supplied by the discovery of five copper-plates at Chinchani. This is a small town right on the coast at present in the Dahanu Taluka of the Thana District. But two thousand years ago, it was an important place, mentioned as it is in one of the Nasik Inscriptions of the 1st century A.D. as Chichijña.[1]

Though this place itself is not mentioned in any of the copper-plate inscriptions edited by Dr. D.C. Sircar,[2] these records not only tell of the interesting political vicissitudes through which the region called Saniyana-maṇḍala passed for no less than 300 years. Still as the inscriptions tell us the inhabitants of Saniyana (modern Sañjān), maintained good relations, among themselves but also supported two temples and a monastery founded by merchants from Bhillamala in Rajasthan. And what a strange mixture of population. The original population consisted largely of Kōlis and Mahars and hence one district (*Vishaya*) was called *Koli-Mahara-Vishaya*. Here had come Parsis in the 8th century when they left Iran, because of persecution by the new Muslim rulers.

But then to their surprise and our surprise the administration of this province (Samyana—maṇḍala) was handed over by the Rashtrakuta emperors Kṛishṇarāja (A.D. 878-915) to the Muslim Arabs, called Tajikas. This is mentioned in the record of Indra III, also called Nityavarsha dated in Saka 848 (A.D. 926).

The Tājika governor's name is given as Madhumati-Sugatipa. The first part of this is no doubt the Sanskritized form of the Arabic name Muhammad, (the second cannot be explained at present). Later the Kadambas of Goa in the Panjim Plates of Jayakēsin I (c. A.D. 1050-80) Sanskritized Muhammad as Madhumada and his father's name as Aliyama.

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Indra III took this most unusual step, because as the record says, Madhumati conquered all the harbours (*Vetakula*) of the neighbourhood, evidently for the Rashtrakuta emperor. Further Muhammad placed (or was permitted or ordered to place) his own officials in these ports.

Thus for the first time we get confirmation of the repeated statements[3] by Arab historians—Sulaiman, Abu Zaid, Ibu Khurdadba, Al Masudi, Al Islakhri and Ibu Haukal, between A.D. 851 and 968 that the Balharas of Mankir, that is Ballaha-rāyas or Vallabharāyas of Mānyakhēṭa or Maḷkhēd had employed Muslim governors and that the Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in the empire. This is interpreted to mean that the Rashtrakutas appointed Qazi to look after the religious and judicial affairs of the Muslim subjects who were mostly Arabs.

Muhammad was naturally grateful for the confidence placed in him by the emperor. He in his turn, as an impartial and good administrator established free ferry near Samyana, and a feeding house, where Sahi rice, curries and ghee were catered free of cost. Further Muhammad made a grant of the village of Kanaduka, situated in Kali-Mahara Vishaya within Samyana-mandala for the repairs of the Mathika (monastery) constructed by Aunaiya, and also for the offering of *naivedya* to the goddess Dasami (Mother goddess Durgā or Pārvatī) and for the feeding of nine persons belonging to the *Pañcha-Gauḍīya-mahāparishad* of Samyana. These were probably the North Indian Brahmanas known as Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala.

Dr. Sircar could not identify the donated villages Kanaduka and Dēvihāra, and one of the boundary village Kallagrāma, because he could not satisfactorily locate the administrative unit, viz. Kōli-Mahara itself.[4] However, as we have said, this expression stands for the Kōlis and Mahars who formed their as ever today the predominant indigenous population.[5]

This would mean that the Parsis, Arabs, Pañchagauḍiya Brahmanas, and the Mōdha Baniyas who had brought their deity, Bhillamaladēva or Madhusūdana from Rajasthan were but tiny islands in the vast sea of Kōlis and Mahars. The former numbered no less than 17 lakhs; the latter about 10 lakhs in 1901; and as rightly observed, these are but broken units of many former aboriginal tribes owning the country of which they were dispossessed by successive waves of Aryan and post-Aryan invaders. Any way there is probably the earliest well-dated literary reference to these *ādivāsis*.[5a]

Hence the administrative nine, a *Vishaya*, which was always larger than a *village*, and *āhāra*, had to be named after these tribes. This is important in two ways—for the administrative and ethnic history of the region and India as a whole. This is one of the few specific references to the Adivāsi population; besides Goṇḍa, in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.

These records from Chiñchni give but a glimpse of Sāmjana and the surrounding coastal area a thousand years ago. Samjana would appear to be a miniature Bombay, or what Bombay was in the 17th century. And would have developed further had it received the same patronage from subsequent rulers of Konkan and Maharashtra. Even so, for more than five centuries Sañjān served as an important inland port for export and

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import, situated on the Sanjan creek, about six miles away from the coast. Large crafts of about 80 tons (*250 Khandis*) could make the landing in one tide. Hence the Arab geographers of the period (10th-12th century) described it, under the name Sindan, as famous for the export of the Mecca.

It was a strong, populous city with a Jama mosque and several Hindu temples. Later the Portuguese Churches, custom houses, and rest houses came up.

Though Sañjān was known historically and epigraphically (since 1952) as an important district capital on the western coast for nearly thousand years it had never been visited by a trained archaeologist. Though, we must credit the author of the *Thana Gazetteer*[6] for giving a fairly good account of the remains, as he saw them over 100 years ago, but while he could distinguish and name some of the Portuguese monuments such as the fort and a few of the Muslim, he could not identify any of the early Hindu monuments, except noting the fine, large bricks of peeping out from the mounds.

The present author was therefore anxious to find, if possible, these remains and locate the temples of the Bhillamaladeva, (Madhusudana) and the temple of the Mother Goddess, Dasami.

Dr. Ashok Marathe, of the Deccan College was sent to Sañjan. Fortunately he found a very enthusiastic companion was Shri Dundappa, who was also an expert photographer. These two explored the ruins. They no doubt noted the ruins built with large brick structures, but also collected the pot-sherds associated with these and other structures.

However, Marathe's and Dundappa's most important discovery, not hitherto noticed or reported by anybody, was the occurrence of small, indeed tiny, silver coins. There are 1.7-1.9 cm. in diameter and 4.16 gm. in weight. By constant use for more than seven centuries, these are almost defaced, but because of their purity and weight would even today fetch a good price, and their archaeological and cultural value would be very high. These tiny coins called *Gadhiyas* are known to have been first minted by the Samanians and were later current in *Inter alia* Saurashtra for a long time.

The pottery from Sañjān gives some definite idea as to the age of the ruins, still as yet there is no shred of the early century of the Christian era. Such as the Red Polished Ware or the amphora, indicating trade with the Roman world.

According to the Parsi Chronicle, the *Kissehi—Sañjān*, the country was a desert, though the ground was excellent...when the Dastur saw the good place, he found it to be a suitable place for abode, the Dastur gave it the name of Sañjān, and it was made prosperous like the country of Iran. The year was A.D. 749.[7]

While this traditional account might be indeed true, still it is necessary to ascertain its full implication or veracity. For a naturally rich, fertile coastal belt at Sañjān could not have remained unoccupied or settled from the earliest historical times, that is third century B.C., or at least during the time of the Andhras or Sātavāhanas and Indo-Greeks. Hence both from the point of view of the Parsi chronicle *Kisseh-i Sañjān,* and the history of the western coast in fact Bombay—a small, but full stratigraphical excava-

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tion on any or the ancient mounds at Sañjān is necessary. This should not take more than a month, nor would be very expensive.

The governorship of the Arabs was short lived. For the grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja, who was a subordinate of Silāhāra Chhinturaja, Śaka 956 (A.D. 1034) tells us one Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāmuṇḍarāja was governing Samyana-pattaṇa. His father's name is given as Vijja-ranaka. Now, according to the Parsi chronicle, the ruler of this region who allowed or welcomed the Parsi refugees to land was one Jadhe-rana. The suffix *rana* or "*ranaka*" has been pointed out by this author is generally borne by the rulers of Rajasthan.

Anyway, we find that a Vijja-ranaka of the Modha family, is said to be a worshipper of the Sun god. This should be the famous shrine of the Sun god at Modhera in Gujarat, and his family goddess Khadiravati.

While announcing the grant of an oil-mill (*Ghanaka*) in favour of the Kautukamathika (temple monastery), at Samyana not noly all the important officers, but representations of all the communities—the Parsis (*hamyamana*), Mahumada (Muslims), Mahara, Brahmana, as well as the members of Maha-parshed (a scholarly body, attached to the mathika (monastery) that one has to admire the democratic nature of the administration a thousand years ago!

Another grant of Vijala or Vija-ranaka, Saka 975 (A.D. 1053), who belonged to a Modha family while ruling over Samyanapattana—700 mentions only generally *Hamyamana* and Modha Brahmanas of Sri-Sthana (Thana). Besides these names occur the name of Akasika and Renasa-grama. Akasika should be the present Agashi, a town 3½ miles from Virar, and about 80 miles South-west of Sanjan. The village Quarters viz. Kāṇādaka, & its boundary cannot be properly identified. At present Msh No. 48 D/16 (old No. 134), shows Gimsa, and Sambha, about 3 miles southern of Sanjan, and, Kākaria above 2 miles to its North-east. These might stand for Chavasa, Sembaka and kāṇādaka respectivily.

The Copper-plate grant of Krishna III (c. A.D. 939-67) is undated, being a single one, but is important from several points of view. In the first place, as already pointed out by Dr. D.C. Sircar, the legal decision is a dispute (*Vyavastha*), or simply an arrangement, was made or emanated from a deity and his attendants and not from any judicial or administrative authority[8].

These attendants, not official in the ordinary sense, is called *Varika*. It is said to stand for a priest or Panda of the temple of Bhillamaladēva at Sainyana.

This "order" was necessitated when there was a dispute about a piece of land between the devotees of the Bhillamaladēva and the goddess. Both sides resorted to "hunger-strike." Perhaps this is the earliest recorded instance of such a social event. A compromise was then reached between the devotees and the party in possession of the piece of land to pay a fixed amount of annual rent. Hence the order in the name of the deity.

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Again the word for attendants or devotees as *Varika* reminds us of the word '*Varkari*', the devotees of Shri Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharpūr and Alandi.

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2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII (1957-58), 1962, pp. 45-76.
3. Sircar, D.C. *op. cit.*, p. 50.
4. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
5. Enthoven, R.E., *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I pp. 243; 401-18.

5a. Even today as the *Grāma-sūchi* (list of villages) Ed. by N.G. Apte and published by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith Pune, 1967 does give few Mahar-Vadis and Koli-Vadis in Thane District.

6. *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-304.
7. Enthoven, *op. cit*,, Vol. II, p. 185.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, (1957-58), p. 56.

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26

Early Brahmanic Settlement in Bengal—Pre Pala Period

CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

Due to paucity of epigraphical materials it is difficult to say anything definitely about the state of brāhmaṇism in Bengal prior to the time of the Guptas. The Silua image inscription of c. 2nd century B.C., if not brought from somewhere else, is the only document of the kind to speak of brāhmaṇical intervention in Bengal. From the Gupta period onwards we are on a more solid ground to come forward with some suggestions in this respect. It is interesting that Samudragupta defeated two important kings of Bengal, worthy to be mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti*. Nāgadatta, according to D.C. Sircar, was the ruler of North Bengal and Candravarman was the king of Puṣkaraṇā, identified with modern Pokharna in the Bankura District.[1] But the Gupta records from Bengal, except that of Vainyagupta, comes from North Bengal and so nothing positive is known about the rest of Bengal from the records of the Imperial Guptas. In other words, the Gupta records at our disposal throw light on the brāhmaṇas of North Bengal in particular. But we can possibly generalise the conclusions arrived at on the basis of these inscriptions because this geo-political zone seems to have laid the norms, at least upto this period, for the socio-cultural behavioural pattern of the people of Bengal. Turning to the brāhmaṇas as the focal point, through which the whole society can be gleamed at, it appears that even during the Gupta period Bengal was not so much dominated by brāhmaṇical stricture as was in other parts of Northern India.

In other parts of Northern India the brāhmaṇas are found to hold important administrative posts under the kings. But so far Bengal is concerned similar evidence is lacking. Important administrative units like Koṭivarṣa were administered by something like modern corporation. The board of administration consisted of leading business men of the locality. The chief banker, the chief merchant and the chief artisan were members of such board, along with the governor of the district and the chief scribe. The Damodarpur[2] and the Paharpur[3] copper-plates thus give us an idea of highly developed urbanised units where the prominent and dominant sections of the society were the mercantile communities.

All the administrative units of Bengal under the Guptas were not as developed as that of Koṭivarṣa and the system of administration seems to have been different in such places. So far as land transaction is concerned we find that in such units villagers

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concerned with the transactions were informed along with the state officials. The Dhanaidaha copper-plate[4] mentioned by name eighteen members of the village who were notified about the transaction in land. The Kalaikuri copper-plate[5] names more than eighty persons among the *kuṭumbins* and *mahattaras*. Similar picture can be drawn from the Jagadishpur plate,[6] where more than 32 villagers have been mentioned. The Baigram[7] and the Nandapur[8] copper-plates do not make specific mention of villagers, but refer to the custom of notification to them. These inscriptions leave no doubt that as members of the village communities the brāhmaṇas did not have more privilege than the others. Their names appear in the lists along with the names of other villagers belonging to various castes and no speciality is noticed in case of a brāhmaṇa. Some of the brāhmaṇas, along with members of other *varṇas* became *Viṭhī-mahattaras*, no doubt, but this makes no reflection on the social status of the brāhmaṇas. The village administrative units were more or less of democratic set up. Thus, while the mercantile class dominated in the cities; in the villages the brāhmaṇas enjoyed no greater right than any other member of the village in the administration of their respective localities. It is clear from inscriptions that the brāhmaṇas of Bengal during the Gupta period had little part to play in State administration, which was an important weapon of domination over the mass.

It is rather difficult to ascertain whether prominent brāhmaṇas really settled down in large number in Bengal during this period. This suspicion crops up in our mind due to the following reasons :

Gupta records do not speak of royal endeavour to establish brāhmaṇical settlements in Bengal by honouring them with landgrants. The lands which were donated to them by the moneyed men of the society or were purchased by the brāhmaṇas themselves were mostly uncultivable fallow lands, from which the Government did not earn any revenue.

No special quality or qualification of the brāhmaṇa donees has been mentioned in the inscriptions under study. Scholars are of the opinion that the Kalaikuri inscription speaks of brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas.[9] But it is difficult to ascertain from the language of the inscription whether Devabhaṭṭa alone was versed in the four Vedas or Amaradatta or Mahāsenadatta also was of the same calibre. If they were of the same calibre, why 5 *kulyavāpas* of lands were donated to Devabhaṭṭa and 2 *kulyavāpas* to each of the remaining donees? The suffixes, *Bhaṭṭa* added to the name of the major donee and *Datta* attached to the names of the other two, are also noteworthy in this connection, though any conclusion from these may be a hasty one.

Lands are said to have been granted to the brāhmaṇas for the performance of the *paña-mahāyajña*, which was a stereotyped expression, referring to some common-duties of the brāhmaṇa-householders and did not have much significance in the contexts. No particular reference to Vedic sacrifices performed by the Bengal brāhmaṇas of this period is to be found from the epigraphic records.

The brāhmaṇas of this region not even cared to follow the common brāhmaṇical social customs. This is suggested by the fact that they are conspicuously silent about the mention of their *gotras* (far less of the *pravaras*), which was an important and regular

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item in the specification and identification of a brāhmaṇa in other parts of Northern India. It is interesting that only the Nandapura copper-plate which refers to a brāhmaṇa donee living in Bihar mentions his *gotra*, as well as his Veda.

The information gathered above tends to suggest that Vedic rites and rituals did not get prominance in the soil of Bengal. But when we turn to the other spheres of brāhmaṇical activities we notice that here was a fertile field for sowing the seed of religious aculturation and social assimilation and the Smārta-Paurāṇic brāhmaṇas must have played a prominent role in this respect. It is well known that heretic religious faiths like Buddhism and Jainism had their roots embedded in the soil of Bengal from a very early time. Puṇḍranagara, one of the most important cities of North Bengal was, according to Barua's interpretation of the Mahasthan inscription,[10] a centre of the Buddhists, who received royal favour in time of distress. The lay worshippers of the Buddha belonging to Puṇḍravardhana and Vaṅga have left their inscriptions at Sanchi[11] and Nagarjunakonda.[12] The intimate association of Jainism with Bengal is suggested by the fact that some of its earliest sects were named after some localities of Bengal.[13] A Mathura inscription of 62 Ś.E. refer to a Jain monk who came from Rārā or Rāḍha.[14] When brāhmaṇism entered into the picture they had to make a reapproachment with the leading religious groups, including the autocthonus ones. Epigraphic document suggests that the Sauras associated themselves with the Buddhists. The Jagadishpur copper-plate[15] speaks of lands donated to a Buddhist monastery, as well as to the temple of Sahasra-rasvāmī. The association of the Sun with the Buddha, however, was already known from the representation of the Sun in the Mahabodhi temple and in Bhaja, where he symbolised the solar character of the Buddha.[16] But so far as Bengal is concerned the most important cclesiastic force of brāhmaṇism was that of the Vaṣṇavas, who intermingled themselves with the autocthonus religious cults. The Baigram copper-plate records the grant of land for the repair and maintenance of the temple of Govinda-svāmin.[17] The Damodarpur copper-plate No. IV refers to gifts of lands in favour of Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin.[18] The Damodarpur copper-plate No. V records donation of land in favour of Śvetavarāhasvāmin alone.[19] Raychaudhuri has shown that Kokāmukhasvāmī and Śvetavarāhasvāmī were boar incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu.[20] Scholars are of the opinion that the religious centres like those of Kokāmukha-svāmī and Śvetavarāha-svāmī were originally tribal spots of worship, which were converted and absorbed into the Vaiṣṇava faith. Now the question is, who were the priests in these temples? It is not unlikely that with the rise in status of these religious centres, the priests thereof were also incorporated within the fold of brāhmaṇism. It was the same process in which the totemistic gods were identified with Viṣṇu. If this hypothesis is accepted a strong non-brāhmaṇical element may be traced among the brāhmaṇas of Bengal, and this explains partly the anthropological finding that the brāhmaṇas of Bengal betray in their physiognomical features and have more similarity with the lower castes of Bengal than the upper class people of Uttar Pradesh.[21]

In this connection mention may be made of an interesting name found in the Kalaikuri inscription of A.D. 439. Among the list of villagers to whom notification about the land transaction recorded in the grant was made, one was Kaivartaśarman.[22] In

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Bengal *Kaivartas* are at present either *Hālikas* or *Jālikas*, i.e. cultivators or fishermen and it is quite possible that this brāhmaṇa was a priest of the Kaivartas and that was the reason why he was so called. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* narrates the interesting story of Paraśurāma's conferring brāhmaṇahood to a select number of Kaivarta families.[23] N.K. Dutt rightly suggested that this story speaks of aboriginal priests who were acknowledged as brāhmaṇas.[24] It is possible that the Kalaikuri inscription provides an early epigraphic document of similar event in respect of northern Bengal.

That the brāhmaṇas of Bengal were not very conservative in their religious attitude and social behaviour is suggested by the Paharpur cooper plate[25] which speaks of Nātha-Śarman, a brāhmaṇa and his wife Rāmī, who donated lands in favour of a Jain monastery. The dominat non-brāhmaṇical elements were still there and as such caste consciousness was never very pronounced during this period.

As one passes on to post-Gupta inscription of Bengal some definite changes are noticed in the behavioural pattern of the brāhmaṇas, though some social traits, rooted in the soil, are found to persist. These inscriptions mostly come from the South and South-east Bengal, where a new vista of brāhmaṇical activities were opened by this time.

As opposed to the brāhmaṇas of the Gupta period, now a good number of them are found to occupy important administrative posts and thus becoming influencial members of the society. Inscriptions of this period make mention of several brāhmaṇas who were *Mahattaras*. Kulasvāmin, Vṛihacaṭṭa, Bhagasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Indusvāmin, Buddhasvāmin and Dhanasvāmin are referred to in different inscriptions as *Mahattaras* were undoubtedly brāhmāṇas,[26] and there might have been others who cannot be identified from the names only. Bhogibhaṭṭa and Nāgabhaṭṭa mentioned in the Jayarampur copper-plate of Gopacandra adorned the posts of *Pustapāla* or record keeper.[27] During the reign of Dharmāditya, one Gopālasvāmin was the custom officer, who was appointed as chief of the district administrative affair of Vāraka-maṇḍala. Vāsudevasvāmin referred to in the same Faridpur copper-plate of Dharmāditya was an official supervising the custom dues in the district.[28] Vatsapālasvāmin of the Faridpur copper-plate of Gopacandra was the officer in charge of trade of a district.[29] Thus these brāhmaṇas had effective control over the administrative, as well as economic affairs of the state. Some of the brāhmaṇas rose to still higher level of administrative grades and became feudatories like Pradoṣaśarman and Lokanātha, to be raised to the position of a virtual king like Lokanātha at last.[30] It should be noted, in contrast, that the dominant mercantile community is not found to play that important role, which it did in the earlier phase.

As the brāhmañas of this period were quite influencial and affluent, they on their part tried to develop new brāhmaṇical settlements. Vāsudeva-svāmin, who was a custom-officer under Dharmāditya, purchased some lands from *Mahattara* Thoḍa and conveyed it to brāhmaṇa Somasvāmin.[31] Vatsapālasvāmin, the brāhmaṇa officer of Gopacandra purchased land to make a gift to Bhaṭṭa Gomidatta-svāmin.[32] Pradosaśarman claims in the Tippera copper-plate that his resources were enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas and it was at

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his request that Lokanātha granted lands for settling learned brāhmaṇas in his kingdom.[33]

It has been pointed out earlier that the Gupta kings are not known to have made any land-grant in Bengal to encourage the establishment of brāhmaṇic settlements here. But number of charters recording donations of lands to brāhmaṇas by ruling authorities are to be found in the post-Gupta period. Lokanātha, Maruṇḍanātha and Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta donated lands for settling a number of brāhmaṇas.[34] Vijayasena of the Mallasarul copper-plate granted eight *Kulyavāpas* of land to brāhmaṇa Vatsasvāmin.[35] Jayanāga granted the whole village of Vappaghoṣavāṭa to Bhaṭṭa Brahmavirasvāmin.[36] Private persons also purchased and donated lands to brāhmaṇas.

That various brāhmaṇic settlements now grew up in Bengal is suggested by the fact that inscriptions now speak of different categories of brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas belonging to different Vedas and *śākās* could now be found. Vatsasuāmin who was granted lands in Vardhamāna *bhukti* was a student of the Bāhvṛica caraṇa or the Ṛigveda.[37] Bhaṭṭa Brahma-vīrasvāmin of the Vappaghoṣavṭa grant was a student of the Chāndogya caraṇa or the Sāmaveda.[38] In the Faridpur region brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneya caraṇa or the Yajur-veda had some prominence, as is suggested by the successive land grants. The Faridpur copper plate of Dharmāditya, year 3, records the grant of land to the Bharadvāji brāhmaṇa Candrasvāmin a student of the Vājasaneya śākhā.[39] Another copper-plate of Dharmāditya coming from the same region speaks of donation of lands in favour of *guṇavat-kānva-Vājasaneya-Lauhitya-sagotra brāhmaṇa Somasvāmin*.[40] Pargiter, the editor of the grant could not understand the meaning of the line and suggested that the donation was made in favour of brāhmaṇa Somasvamin, who belonged to the lineage of Kaṇva, was a Vājasaneya and a Lauhitya. So far as the term Lauhitya was concerned he suggested that it might have meant either a descendent of Lohita or one who dwelt by the river Lohita.[41] Pushpa Niyogi took Kāṇva-Lauhitya as the *gotra*-name of the brāhmaṇa donee.[42] But the passage is clear enough to record that Somasvāmin belonged to the Lauhitya *gotra* and was a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneya *caraṇa*. Similar expressions as Vāji-Mādhyandina or Kāṇva-Mādhyandina or Mādhyandina-Kāṇva are often found in inscriptions to specify the Vedic affiliations of the brāhmaṇas. The Faridpur copper-plate of Gopacandra speaks of the donee Bhaṭṭa-Gomidattasvāmin who also belonged to the same *gotra* and Vedic *Śākhā*.[43] Brāhmaṇas of another recension of the Vājasaneya caraṇa settled in Midnapur region. Dāmyasvāmi, the donee of the Midnapur capper-plates of Śaśāṅka, was a student of the Mādhyandina *Śākhā*.[44] Brāhmaṇas of Kṛiṣṇa Yajurveda are unknow in Bengal inscriptions, though some of them were present in contemporary Assam, as is known from the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman.[45] Similarly specific reference to a brāhmaṇa associated with the Atharvaveda is yet to get. It should, however, be especially mentioned that Caturvedi and Trivedī brāhmaṇas could now be found in Bengal in large numbers because of the fact that Lokanātha and Maruṇḍanātha made endeavour to settle large number of brāhmaṇas versed in the four and the three Vedas in their respective dominions.[46]

With the establishment of various brāhmaṇic settlements other social customs pertaining to this caste were automatically introduced. One important item of such cus-

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toms was the introduction of a brāhmaṇa with reference to his Vedic *śākhā* and the *gotra*. The post-Gupta inscriptions show, as a sharp contrast to the Gupta records mentioned earlier that this custom was now religiously followed. We have already referred to the Vedic *śākhā*s which were adhered to by the contempory Bengali brāhmaṇas. A stock-taking of the *gotras* shows the predominance of the Bharadvāji brāhmanas during this period.[47] Then comes the Vatsasvāmin of the Mallasareil copper-plate who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra and Kāśyapa and the Lauhitya gotras.[48] Pradoṣaśarman is said to have belonged to the Agastya *gotras*.[49] The Vārendras and the Rāḍhīs of present Bengal claim their descend from the five brāhmaṇas belonging to Śāṇḍilya, Kāśyapa, Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Sāvarṇa *gotras*, who were brought to Bengal by Ādiśūra. Without entering into the controversy relating to this legend, it may be pointed out from the above analysis that brāhmaṇas of Bharadvaja and Kāśyapa *gotras* were among the earliest brāhmaṇic settlers of Bengal. According to Risley,[50] the present brāhmaṇas of Bengal have twelve gotras—Bharadvāja, Kāśyapa, Śāṇḍilya, Vatsa, Sāvarṇi, Gautama, Kauśika, Ghṛita-Kauśika, Jātukarṇa, Kāṇvayāna and Śaunaka. Thus the brāhmaṇas of Lauhitya, Kauṇḍinya and Agastya *gotras*, who along with those of Bharadvāja and Kāśyapa *gotras* were among the early settlers of Bengal, lost their importance in this region in course of time. It may be noted in this connection that brāhmaṇas of Agastya and Lauhita *gotras* are still found among the brāhmaṇas of the neighbouring province of Orissa. Agastya is also a common *gotras* among the Kanaujiyā brāhmaṇas of U.P.

The brāhmaṇas of this period have been praised in the inscriptions. The Jayarampur copper-plate of the time of Gopacandra records the grant of land in favour of a Buddhist monastery and it speaks of the country where a continuous flame of smoke rose high above from the sacrificial fire being performed by the noble *Agnihotrins* and which produced a delightful fragrance in the *Tapovanas* glittering in the sky like the brilliant rays of the sun and the moon, which was free from all calamities owing to the sacred things through songs of the hymns of the four Vedas together with their *Nyāsas*.[51] The cāturvidya brāhmaṇas of the Tippera copper plate of Lokanātha, who settled down in a country "infested by wild animals and poisonous reptiles and covered with forest outgrowth" might have had some high ideal in view.[52] Candrasvāmin of the Faridpur copperplate of Dharmāditya, year 3, is known to have studied the six *aṅgas* of the Veda.[53] The maternal great-grandfather of Pradoṣaśarman was one of the *agnyāhita* brāhmaṇas.[54] Thus there was no dearth of learned brāhmaṇas in Bengal, who also tried to perform sacrificial duties as enjoined by the *Śāstras*.

But in spite of these we should not hesitate to mention that Bengal brāhmaṇas up to this period did not contribute anything positive to the store of learning. Whatever Bengal has contributed goes to the credit of the Buddhists like Candragomin, who wrote a work on grammar which became very popular in eastern region. Śīlabhadra, though a brāhmaṇa by birth, was converted to Buddhism and became a great scholar and the renowned pontiff of the Nalanda monastery. Scholars try to propose that Bengal had her own literay circle during this period which invented the *Gauḍīya rīti* in *Kāvya*, mentioned by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.[55] But unfortunately no trace of literary activity of the time or its association with the brāhmaṇas is available. The only evidence of literary

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activity left for us is in the nature of inscriptions which undoubtedly show some literary flavour. But Prof. Siben Ghosal has shown that these inscriptions are full of grammatical errors.[56] Thus if they were actually written by brāhmaṇas (though we have no evidence in this respect) they cast a glance upon the intellectual acumen of the upper-stratum of the brāhmaṇa community, who were associated with the court, not to speak of the ordinary brāhmaṇa householders.

The only special feature of Bengal society, prior to the coming of the Pālas, of which we can now boast of, is that the brāhmaṇas of this period were not at all orthodox in their socio-religious outlook. We have already seen that professional changes were common. The Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha indicates that caste structure did not follow the orthodox brāhmaṇical injunctions. Not only professional mobility was there, but marriages between brāhmaṇas and non-brāhmaṇas were common features of the society and as such did not give rise to any social commotion in case of violations of strict brāhmaṇical rules in this respect. The Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha has given his genealogical occount, which is as follows:[57]

Nātha
|
Sāmanta-Śrīnātha
—
Bhavanātha = Lokanātha
Lakṣmīnātha

Sthāvara
|
Vīra
|
Keśava = Aṣṭāyikā
Gotradevī

Lokanātha's great-great-grandfather who was born in the "good family of the sage Bharadvāja" had a son, who gave up the brāhmaṇical profession, became famous for his valour and was raised to the status of a *sāmanta*. But his son was of religious temperament and abdicated the throne in favour of his brother's son, whose only good fortune was that he was married to one Gotradevī, who had an influential paternal line. Her great-grandfather Sthāvara was *dvija-varaḥ* and her grand-father Vīra was *dvijottamḥ*. This Vīra married a Śūdra girl and consequently his son Keśava was degraded as a *Pāraśava**. But this *Pāraśava* Keśava changed his social status by virtue of his high official post. He gave up the profession of a brāhmaṇa and took to arms. He was placed in charge of the army and was in touch with the king. It is interesting that Lokanātha who did not mention even the name of his father, was not ashamed to record that he was connected with Pāraśava Keśava through his mother. Lokanatha has been called in this inscription a *karaṇa*, which according to Manu[58] was a mixed caste, descending from the *vrātya* Kṣatriyas. Lokanātha was born in a family which gave up their traditional brāhmaṇical profession and for generations took the profession of a Kṣatriya. So there is nothing unusual in calling him a *karaṇa*. Growth and development of mixed castes is undoubtedly an indication of liberal social attitude at things which were of common occurrances.

*It is known from *Harshacharita* that Bāṇabhaṭṭa's father Chitrabhānu was a pious brāhmaṇa, who was versed in the Vedic lore and kept the sacred fire. Bāṇabhaṭṭa was his son by his brāhmaṇa wife Rājadevi. But he had another son named Mātṛishena born of the Śūdra wife, whom Bāṇabhaṭṭa had introduced as his Pāraśava brother.

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This Tippera copper-plates also provide us with a genealogical table of Pradoṣaśarman, the *mahāsāmanta* of Lokanātha.

Devaśarman		Buddhasvāmin
|		
Jayaśarman		Bṛihaspatisvāmin
|		
Toṣaśarman	=	Suvacanā
|		
Pradoṣaśarman		

It is interesting that in both these genealogies mothers' sides have got prominence. Lokanātha mentioned not only his own paternal line, but also his maternal side in detail. In the case of Pradoṣaśarman his mother's side has been narrated prior to that of his father. We are however, not in a position to say whether the tribal matrilinear social forms in any way influenced these brāhmaṇas or not.

But the following points emerge clearly from all that has been said in the forgoing pages.

(1) The North-Indian norm of brāhmaṇism was accepted theoretically and some social pattern of brāhmaṇism was laid down.

(2) Diviation from such rules, in respect of two major fields of life at least, i.e. marriage and profession, were quite common.

(3) Since brāhmaṇas took to various other professions and intermingled easily with different castes in religious rites and by way of marriage the differences between castes were never very pronounced.

(4) The high ideal of brāhmaṇism in scholasticity, austerity, or morality were not maintained and as such the brāhmaṇas as a caste was never placed in high tower of honour and idolship.

(5) All these led to the growth of a society which was liberal and flexible, and where rigid caste-based classification of the society was not at all possible.

The statement made on the basis of epigraphical materials may be supplemented by literary evidence from the pens of two brāhmaṇas—one is Manu, an orthodox brāhmaṇa law-maker and the other is Vātsyāyana, a liberal brāhmaṇa elite. Manu[59] decried the Pauṇḍrakas as having fallen to the status of the Śūdras on account of their neglect of sacred rites and the brāhmaṇas. To put it in another way the brāhmaṇas failed to introduce strict brāhmaṇical rites and rituals among the people of Bengal and they themselves did not deserve much reverence from the common people. Vātsyāyana brings to light another aspect of the character of the brāhmaṇas of Bengal. The brāhmaṇas of Gauḍa and Vaṅga along with the royal servants and others, according to him,[60] were often engaged into illicit connections with the ladies of the royal harems. Thus the scanty literary evidence that we have about the brahmaṇas of Bengal of the period under review, has no positive virtue to record in favour of them and goes well with the picture derived from epigraphic sources.

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27

A Note on Kusanamula

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

Prof. V.V. Mirashi[1] has written a note on *Kuṣaṇamūla* in the *Diamond Jubilee* volume of the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Pune. He has scholarly pointed out that the word *Kuṣaṇamūla* is probably a mistake for '*Kuśalamūla*'. The word *Kuṣaṇamūla* occurs in two passages in one and the same inscription of Usavadata[2] dated in the years 41, 42 and 45 in cave no 10 at Nasik. Bhagawanlal Indraji[3] suggested three alternative meanings of Kuṣaṇa, viz., 1) *Ku-aśana* : coarse food given to mendicants, 2) Kuśaya : a mendicant's seat or 3) Kuśaya a mendicant's drinking vessel. Bhandarkar[4] took *Kuṣana* as a coin-designation. But so far *Kuṣaṇa* as a coin-designation does not occur in the Numismatic field.

Mirashi has shown that the word '*Kuśalamūla*' occurs in three different Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, viz. 1) Monikiala stone[5] inscription 2) Hidda inscription[6] and 3) Wardak Vase[7] inscription. In all these inscriptions Sten Konow has translated '*Kuśalamūla*' as the root of bliss. Mirashi has further shown that the word is not confined to Kharosthi inscriptions but appears in the Tummalagundem plates[8] of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Govindavarman :

Line 21 : Svasyā agra-

22 : mahiṣyāh paramamahadevyā vihārasya dipa dhūpagandhapuṣpadhavaja-pānabhojanasyanāsana glana-

23 : Bhaiṣajyakhaṇḍasphutiṭashirṇṇasṁskārādhikuśala mulānupacchedāirth-am.

Mirashi has mentioned that the word, intended to be engraved in two places in the Nasik inscription of Usavadata was really '*Kuśalamūla*'. It then signified medicines but in course of time it came to signify religious merit which resulted in the Kuśala (well-being) of the person in the next word.

The word '*Kuśalāmula*' has a significant meaning in Pali canonical literature. '*Dhammapada*'[9] which is a fine exposition of ethical teaching of the Buddha mentions that :

Sabbapāpassa akaraṇam kuśalassa Upasampadā /
Sachittapariyodapanam etaṁ Buddhāna Sasanam //

Dhammapada 183

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Commit no sins, accumulate good and purify one's own mind. It is the teaching of all the Buddhas.

A Buddhist aspirant has to go through various stages on the path leading to the Buddhist ideal of Arhatship. He has to desist from evil, accumulate good and purify his mind by definite exercise of meditation. To achieve this, he must have a thorough knowledge of the phenomena that may be styled moral (*Kuśala*) immoral (*akuśala*) or unmoral (*abyākata*). *Dhammasangani*,[10] the first book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* has given a critical and detailed explanation of this triad (*Tikamatikā*). In the same book it is mentioned that '*Kuśalamūlas*' should be resulted from *alobha*, *adoso* (adveṣa) and *amoha*. *Alobha* is not mere cession of desire but it is positive non-attachment. *Adosa* is not absence of hate but it is possitive compassion for all living beings. *Amoha* is not mere non-delusion but it is positive knowledge of truth.

For attainment of '*Kuśala*' various meritorious deeds have been ascribed in '*Aṭṭhasālini*'; the commentary of *Dhammasaṇgaṇi*, offering of lamps, donation of flowers, sandal pastes, repairs and building of stupas are also considered as '*Kuśalamūlas*'. Buddhist texts including '*Viśuddhimagga*' have ascribed four 'pacchayas' essential for accumulation of good or '*Kuśaladhamas*'—(1) *Chīvara* (offering of clothes) (2) *Piṇḍapāta* (offering of food) (3) *Senasana* (offering of beds and seats) (4) *Bhesajyapariṣkāra* (offering of medicine for sick monks.

'*Kuśalamūla*' which has significant meaning, commonly occurs in Buddhist literature but it rarely appears in ancient Buddhist inscriptions. It is mentioned in three Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Kuśāṇa period from Manikial Hidda and wardak. The Hidda and Wardak inscriptions record the building of stupas, and the Wardaka inscription specifies the Vihara of Mahāsāṅghikas. Which is very significant. During the Kuṣaṇa period the '*Mahāsāṅghika*' school of Buddhism was very popular in north-west frontier countries. The Mahāsāṅghika school preached that every being should aspire for Buddhahood and aim at becoming Bodhisattva by acquiring appropriate virtues. Mahāsāṅghika school deified Buddha and gave opportunity to the masses to satisfy their religious emotions and therefore apart from the four essentials for accumulation of good or Kuśaladhamas, construction of stupas, monasteries, offering of flowers lamps etc. are also considered as '*Kuśalamūlas*'.

There are nearly one thousand rock-cut caves located in western India. This rock-cut activity was supported by liberal gifts of lay-devotees, distinguished house-holders, rich merchants hailed from variovs trade-centres. Inscriptions in rock-cut caves are simple records of donations made by various people of different social groups. The monastic centres in western Indian caves made a remarkable contribution to the Buddhist activities, but it is surprising that a very few inscriptions record technical terms in Buddhist philosophy.

The word '*Kuṣaṇamūla*' is definitely a scribal mistake, for '*Kuśalamula*'. It may be noted further that the word 'Kuṣaṇamūla is coupled with '*Chivarika*', one of the four essentials. In the Nasik[11] inscription of Ābhira king Isvarasena records that lay devotee Viṣṇudattā of the śaka race, mother of the Gaṇapaka Viṣvavarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka

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Rebhila and daughter of the śaka Agnivarnan, made a perpetual endowment to provide medicine for the sick of the community of monks. The inscription records the word '*Gilānabheṣajārtha*' which is the fourth essential in the accumulation of '*Kuśala*'.

The occurrence of the words '*Kuśalamūla*' and '*Gilanabheṣaja*' in two Nasik inscriptions is note-worthy. In both the cases the donors belonged to śaka race. Nahapana who was the father-in-Law of Uṣavadāta was the feudal chief of the Kuṣānas. Naturally he must have followed the religious ideals of the Kuṣaṇas which were then popular in the north-western provinces. This would be the fitting justification for '*Kuśalamula*'/*Kuśaṇamūla*' which appears in the Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta. In the second inscription the donor Visnudattā belonged to Śaka race.

In the Tummalagudem plates of the Visnukundi king Govindavarman three essentials i.e. (1) food (2) shelter (3) medicine are mentioned along with offering of flowers, lamp, sandal paste etc. Nagarjunikonda was one of the centres of Mahāsāṅghika schools and therefore mention of various Kusalamulas in the Tummala may be well justified.

It will thus be clear that the intended word to be engraved in two places in the Nasik Inscription of Uṣavadāta was definitely 'Kuśalamula' as suggested by Mirashi. But his interpretation of '*Kuśala*' as religious merit (well being) of the person in the next world is not convincing as it has significant meaning in Buddhist texts. '*Kuśala*' stands for good and for accumulation of four good pacchayas have been prescribed in Buddhist texts, i.e., (1) Chīvara (2) Piṇḍapāta (3) Senasana (4) Bheṣajyapariṣkāra. It has nothing to do with the other world.

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28

Maithila Panditas Beyond the Frontiers of Mithila

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

Mithila has been the Centre of Sanskrit learning from times immemorial and no other part of India can boast of an unbroken tradition of scholars from the hoary age of the Vedas. It is only here that we find that from the time of Janaka down to the present day a continuous stream of scholarship has been flowing and *Nyaya* has been the speciality of this place although other branches of learning were not neglected. Another very important contribution which Mithila has made to Sanskrit learning is in the domain of *Dharmasastra* and it has been rightly said that "from the days of the *Yajnayalkya-Smrti* to the modern times the land of Mithila has produced writers whose names are illustrious."[1]

The rule of the Khandavala dynasty or Darbhanga Raj (A.D. 1556-1951) was really the golden age of Sanskrit learning in Mithila and like the Karnatas and the Oinavaras the scholar-kings of this line generously patronised learnining and art in their star-studded Courts. Mm.Mahesa Thakura, the founder-ruler of the dynasty was himself one of the brightest literary gems that illuminated the period. Besides being well versed in the art of archery and music he was a scholar *par-excellence* who is credited with having written a history of Akbar's reign in poetic Sanskrit, now preserved in the India office, London,[2] besides a number of original works on different branches of Sanskrit learning.

Thus we find that Mithila had been a land dedicated to learning since the Vedic period and the glorious chain of traditional scholarship is still unbroken. "Neve rwas Mithila barren of intellectual luminaries, and cultivation of learning was never neglected here...In fact it came to be regarded as the only honourable profession for a Brahmana to pursue if he had to retain his position in society, to neglect which would entail a loss of social status, but to excel in which would raise him and his family in the estimation of society."[3] The profession was so zealously and vigorously taken up, Cultivated and developed that "in the 15th century Mithila under the Srotriya Brahmanas became the Centre of Sanskrit learning in the East of India" and "in the 16th Century Mithila emerges as the acknowledged head—both secular and religious of all the regions to the

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north of the river Sarayu."[4] It would, therefore, be no exaggeration to say that this was really the golden age of Maithila scholarship.

II

From all accounts it is clear that learning was then cultivated as a part of the Brahmanas' duty and "not as a means to an end as now." Wealth or riches had then no place in the social order and was considered of "no consequence whatsoever in estimating the social status of a Brahmana."[5] Indeed "the same traditional dignity of contented poverty was brought to the forefront once again and emphasised with new zeal. The ideal of perfection among the Maithila Brahmanas...has been Mm. Bhavanatha Misra of Sarisaba, who is reputed to have never accepted even a gift, much less asked for it, as a mark of respect for which he came to be known as *Ayāci* by which name he is remembered with reverence by posterity."[6]

Such unique instances of this ideal of perfection are, however, few and far between There were also persons with varying degrees of contentment, but most of the high class Panditas and Brahmanas had undoubtedly an attraction for material prosperity. How to use riches in a right way has been thoroughly discussed by Harihara in his *Sūkti-Muktavali*[7] wherein he has cited the example of Vatesvara the maternal grand father of *Ayaci* and "one of the highest among the Maithila Brahmanas who was renowned not only for his learning but riches also."[8]

Of the six professions[9] approved for a Brahmana, *Dana* or gift became very popular in post-Harisimhadeva Mithila as *yajñas* had been in pre-Buddhist India. Numerous treatises dealing with this subject clearly suggest that *Dana* was "the main source of income for all the Brahmans, and the only means of acquiring riches for the more conscientious and orthodox among them."[10] And, this attraction for acquiring wealth through *Dana* served as a great impetus to the moving scholars. Stay-at-home scholars could not and did not receive such gifts, though sometimes the more renowned among them did even at their homes. In earlier times scholars had not to worry about their existence as they were generally patronised by the rulars, but with the gradual disappearance of the ruling dynasties, the traditional patronage of learning and scholarship also received a serious set-back, creating the problems of bread of which soon become more and more acute, and the century-old ideals of perfections came to be rudely thrown into oblivion It was against this economic background that we have to take into account the new trends and currents in the field of scholarship in Mithila.

Thus, the growing socio-economic problem of keeping body and soul together forced our unwilling scholars to move about in search of new patrons. In the course of time it became a practice with the Maithila Panditas to move out atleast once a year and return home "with riches sufficient to leave them free to devote themselves to the cultivation of learning throughout the year."[11] There was again another class of Panditas who were not satisfied with whatever they got to sustain themselves. They wanted more riches and as such they stayed out longer and went farther. Such ambitious panditas always searched for a liberal patron to satisfy their high ambitions.

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Actuated by this motive and stirred on by the lure of vast riches the Maithila scholars undertook perilous journeys to distant lands to find out liberal patrons, if any, of their liking. Indeed, the reputation of these scholars had far spread beyond the geographical limits of this country. The great Samkara Misra claims[12] that his celebrated father Ayāci Bhavanatha, had a band of scholar-pupils who were "spread all over Aryavarta, from one sea to the other, trading in the wares of knowledge."[13] Endowed with sparkling brilliance and wit, euridite learing and versatility and exemplary character and unmatching integrity these shining bands of scholars commanded all respect wherever they happened to go to. Riches flowed into their coffers like water. Princes and chieftains accorded them unique distinction. People hailed them as their *gurus* and saviours. And thus laden with immense riches and unique honour most of the scholars came back home. They received enough wealth to last through out their lives, and also grants of land which their descendants still enjoy.[14] But, some of these scholars left their homes for good and settled down permanently in those far-off regions. In other words, these Maithila Brahmana scholars established their 'colonies' (if we can use the term vaguely) all over India. Their descendants are still found in Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesa, Rajputana, Kashmir, Uttara Pradesh, Nepal and other places. "If a history of these colonies is compiled, it will be found that each one of them was founded by some adventurous and ambitious Pandita who could please some prince and them receive from him a lavish gift, perhaps the very *guru-ship* of the royal family, content with which he gave up all idea of returning home and settled down there."[15]

III

We give below a few typical instances to illustrate the glorious exploits of these Maithila scholars. The renowned Govinda Thakur, author of the celebrated *Kavva-Pradipa* had as his patron one Bhavananda Raya, who has been identified with the founder of Krishnanagar Raj of West Bengal by some scholars.[16] The descendants of the eldest son of this Govinda Thakura are settled in the district of Dinajpur in Bengal and are still in a flourishing state. As with the Maithila Brahmanas of Dinajpur so with the Maithila Brahmanas of the district of Malda (West Bengal). We have another instance of Kaviraja Bhanudatta, author of *Rasamañjarī*, and the great grandson of *Ayāci* Bhavanatha. He is said to have toured extensively in Central India, attended the courts of and eulogised Raja Samgrama Shah of Garha Mandle; the Baghela prince Virabhāna of Bandograh, the then capital of the State now known as Rewa; King Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and King Sher Shah.[17] Gangananda, popularly known as *Kavindra*, was the son of the daughter of Kaviraja Bhanudatta's son. In his search for wealth he went as far as Bikaner and composed a work called *Karṇabhusana* after the name of his patron. King Karṇa of Bikaner, The celebrated Mm. Gokulanatha Upadhyaya, along with his brother Mm. Jagannatha, secured patronage of king Fateh Shah of Garhwal.[18]

Towards the end of the 18th century the famous Mm. Bhavaninatha, popularly known to the posterity as Sacala Misra, went to Poona to the Court of the then Peshwa Madhava Rao Narayana. From him, he received the grant of two villages in the district of Jubbalpore which are still in pessession of his descendants. Moreover, he is

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also reputed to have won along with this grant, "the high honour of having his Palki carried by the Peshwa on his own shoulder, an honour which was reserved only for the very select Panditas, which was very rarely bestowed."[19] Another notable figure of this time was Krsnadatta Maithila, a well-known scholar of his time. He hailed from one of the respectable families of Mithila. We have very little information about him as in the case of other reputed scholars of the past. He was the celebrated author of *Puranjana-carita* and *Kubalayāśvayiannamanatakam* (A.D. 1783). Both these works show that he was a reputed author of the 18th century. Moreover, he had the genius of writing allegorical drama and his style "certainly reminds one of Kalidasa, Bana, Krsnamisra[20] and Jayadeva."[21] Thus there is no doubt that Krsnadatta Maithila had superb scholarly qualities. His reputation spread far and wide and his genius attracted the notice of Devaji Purusottama, the Prime-Minister of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, who was probably his patron.[22] But the most notable example is that of Mm. Mahesa Thakura, the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. His elder brother Mm. Damodara Thakura was the *Purohita* of king Samgrama Shah of Gorha Mandla, and his descendants were settled in the city of Mahishmati for several generations-a fact recorded by one of his descendants. Mm. Premanidhi in his *Dharmādharma-prabodhinī*. We have already noted above[23] that Mm. Mahesa Thakura secured the Raj of Tirhut from Emperor Akbar by virtue of his vast learning and scholarship. "No other instance is available in the history of India where learning has so singally been rewarded, where a Pandita has won by dint of his scholarship what others win by the prowess of their arms. It is, indeed, to the credit of the holy land of Mithila, where *Bhudevas* have been *Bhupalas* for more than 600 years to have shown to the world that cultivation of learning can bear fruits in peace as sweet and everlasting as any war can win with all its attending inhumanities."[24]

We have yet another instance of such an exemplary feat during the reign of Shah Jahan by two brilliant sons of Mithila who displayed remarkable intellectual powers. According to the contemporary authorities, on the 5th of Safar, year II, Asaf Khan the governor of Behar, presented two Brāhmanas of tirhut (Mithila) before the Emperor. Each of them claimed the power of not only to quote word for word, and in the same arrangement the ten fresh lines of "Hindi" (Sanskrit) poems, composed by the poets, without having heard them even once before, but also to compose off-hand similar lines and in similar metres and rhymes, so as to constitute replies thereto. When His Majesty made them undergo the test more than once and found their claims to be justified by facts, he granted them each a robe of honour and a cash reward of Rs. 1,000 and permitted them to leave for their homes. The author of *Amal-i-Saleh*, however, tells us that they were also granted two villages in Tirhut to which they belonged.[25] According to a Maithila scholar,[26] Raghudeva Misra, Maithila Pandit composed a *Virudavali* in praise of Emperor Shah Jahan. He belonged to the Hariamba family of the Maithila Srotriya Brahmanas. His name also finds mention in the Maithila *Pañjī* and bears an extremely rare prerogative *Śrutidhara* ("One whose memory is such that whatever is heard but once is retained"). The Panji further tells us that this Raghudeva had an elder brother Harideva Misra who was also a Srutidhara and Avilamba Sarasvati (Quick to learn). These epithets and prerogatives leave us in no doubt that these "two Brahmanas

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from Tirhut" were none other than the two scholar-brothers Harideva Misra and Raghudeva Misra of the Hariamba family, a fact which is further supported by current local traditions.[27] Moreover, they were Raja Acyuta Thakura's only daughter's son as recorded in the *Pañji* and Raja Acyuta Thakura was the second son of Mm. Mahesa Thakura.[28]

Harihara in his *Sūkti-Muktavali* has graphically depicted the society, referred to above. As a matter of fact he composed this unique work for the guidance of ambitious and adventurous Panditas. The search for a liberal patron must have been a very great problem which faced the Panditas in these days as does unemployment the graduates now-a-days. Rich men in society took the responsibility for the maintenance of learned men. Thousands of scholars thus made their living on their charity. Maintained and patronised by and nourished under their munificence Maithila scholars threw themselves heart and soul to the exclusive cultivation of learning which reached its zenith during the 15th and 16th centuries. "The brightest product of the age, the one indeed in whom the entire spirit of the age was symbolised, was the great Mm. Maharaja Mahesa Thakura."[29]

It is thus clear that riches were now no longer despised by the traditional scholars, on the other hand it came to be eagerly cherished by them. The puritanic indifference with which wealth was formerly looked upon was giving place to riches which is innate in man. In the second and the last chapters of his work Mm. Harihara has cited a few details about the lives of certain distinguished Maithilas who must have been important personalities of the day. There was one Ramesvara[30] who has been identified with Mm. Harihara's maternal grand-father. Vatesvara[31] was another distinguished scholar who was the maternal grand-father of Ayaci Bhavanatha. Mahadeva Thakura[32] was perhaps the eldest brother of Mm. Maharaja Mahesa Thakura. Like his three younger brothers he was also a Mahamahopadhyaya and was popularly known as Thegha Thakura.[33] He left home with the vow that he would return "only with a lac of rupees" but he did not return at all probably because his "vow was never fulfilled."[34] Harinatha likewise may have been the famous author of *Smrti-sara* but we can not be very sure about it as with other names. Nevertheless, petty though these details are and the names sometimes unidentified, they have an historical interest which may throw light on many a dark corner of Mithila's unexplored history.

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1. Cf. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. I, 364 and also Vols. II-III for ancient and mediaeval periods. Also see *HM* 86-94, 98-105, 375-82 etc.; M.M. Chakravarti's papers on "Mithila's Contributions to Smrti and Navya-Nayaya" in *JASB*, 1915 (N.S.); Har Dutt Sharma's paper "Some Unknown Sanskrit Poets of Mithila" in *Jhā Com. Vol.*, 359ff.
2. V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, Oxford Ed. 1917, p. 486. The MS preserved appears to have been written by one Mahesa Thakura about the year 1650. But it is probable that the said manuscript is only a copy of the original written during the life-time of Akbar. Maharaja Ramesvara Simha of this dynasty brought a photograph of this manuscript from London at the expense of seven

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thousand rupees. The photostat copy of the manuscript is now preserved in the Raj Library, Darbhanga in a very good condition.

3. *SM*, Intro., 31.
4. *Mithila MS*. Vol. I, Intro. viii (published by Bihar Research Society, Patna).
5. *SM*, Intro., 32.
6. *Ibid.*, 32.
7. *SM*, XII. 25.
8. *Ibid.*, Intro. 32.
9. *Ibid.*, 33.
10. *Ibid.*, 34.
11. *Ibid.* 34.
12. Cf. his Comical drama, *Gauri-digambara-Prahasana*.
13. *SM*. Intro. 35.
14. *Ibid.* 35.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
16. Some Scholars doubt this identification (vide-*SM*. Intro.35).
17. *Ibid.*, Intro. 36.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Quoted, *Ibid.*, 36.
20. He was another reputed Maithila scholar of his time (11th Cent. A.D.) and the celebrated auth or of *Prabodha-Candrodaya*.
21. Vide Prof. R.K. Chaudhary's paper "Krsnadatta Maithila and his works" in *JBRS*, XLII, pt. ii, 246.
22. For other details, *Ibid.*, 241-48.
23. *Supra*, Chap. III.
24. *SM*, Intro., 36-37.
25. S.H. Askari, *PIHC*. 1944, p. 351, fn. 13.
26. Tantranath Jha, *JBU*, Vol. I, 1956, p. 79.
27. For other details, see *Ibid.* pp. 79-80.
28. *Ibid.*, Also Cf. *Supra*, Chap. III.
29. *SM*, Intro., 37.
30. *Ibid.*, II. 22.
31. XII. 24.
32. XII. 6.
33. *Supra*, Chap. III.
34. *SM*, Intro., 39.

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29

The Battle of Penukonda and its Date

C. SOMASUNDARA RAO

One of the important battles that took place in the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II (A.D. 1586-1614) is that of Penukoṇḍa. The Golkonda forces advanced into the heart of the Vijayanagara Kingdom and laid waste many areas and efforts were made to enforce the authority of the Qutb Shah in parts of the Vijayanagara Kingdom. These efforts were successfully met by Veṅkaṭapatirāya who secured help from his subordinates. The date of this battle has been placed differently. A general account of the battle and a discussion of the date of the event have been given below.

The first act of the Rāya after his accession was the recovery of the territory lost in the previous reign. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda had occupied Koṇḍaviḍu and its neighbourhood and came upto Udayagiri in Śrīraṅgarāya's reign. Veṅkaṭapati could secure only the area dependent on the province of Udayagiri between 1586 and 1589; for, in the latter year, a subordinate of the Rāya named Kowl Ananta was stationed at Udayagiri.[1] It is probable that the reference in the epigraphs of Veṅkaṭapatirāya as early as A.D. 1586 to the event of his victory over Mahamandaśāhu (Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah), might indicate Veṅkaṭapati's regaining of his territory from the Qutb Shah, perhaps at Udayagiri.[2] It could not have been possible for the King to regain the Koṇḍavīḍu province. Moreover, no inscriptions, either of Venkaṭapatirāya himself or of his subordinates are forthcoming in and around the region of Koṇḍavīḍu.

In 1589-90, Muhammad Quli marched against the Vijayanagara territories. The cause for this invasion, according to the Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda, is that the Sultan thought that 'many years now elapsed without any war taking place' and so, his decision to extend his conquests to the South."[3] It is doubtful if no war was waged before 1589-90, because the date of the inscription, referred to earlier, falls in 1586. The actual cause for the Sultan's march must be his intention to annex as much of the Vijayanagara territory as he could. The recapture of the Udayagiri province by Veṅkaṭapatirāya must have roused the Sultan to invade the Western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire now.

The Sultan crossed the river Kṛṣṇā with his army and captured the fort of Mosalimaḍugu in the Kurnool district. Later, his forces advanced on Nandyāla and

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Kalagur.[4] The Anonymous chronicler says that these places were ruled by Buswant Raj and Nursing Raj, both related to the late Aliya Rāmarāja.[5] The Hindu chiefs gave a stern opposition to the Golkonda forces, but they were defeated. They consented to pay annual tribute. With them, the minor chiefs in that area like those of Jammalamaḍugu, Siriveḷḷa, Done and Chennūr submitted to the Muslims and became the subordinates of the Sultan of Golkonda. The Sultan wanted to subdue some more chiefs in the neighbourhood of his camp. He sent Amirul-mulk to capture the fort of Gaṇḍikoṭa which was ruled by Narsiṅgrāja. In the battle, the Hindu chief was worsted and later, he became a subordinate of the Sultan.

When so many places were falling into the hands of the Sultan, the Rāya could not assist his feudatories and stem the tide of the Muslim invasion. But he made an indirect attack on the Golkonda forces. While the Muslims were concentrating in subduing the chiefs in the region round the present Cuddapah and Kurnool districts, Venkaṭapati directed his attention towards Koṇḍaviḍu. Koṇḍaviḍu and its surroundings were lost by the Vijayanagara Empire during the reign of Śrirangarāya. This move of the Rāya would distract the attention of the Muslims and they would fall back to their territories. Therefore, Veṅkaṭapati sent an army to Kowl Ananta, the chief of Udayagiri, with instructions to march on Koṇḍaviḍu. The chief sent his son-in-law, Woorias Ray to conquer the Koṇḍaviḍu province. The Golkonda army under Afzal Khan could not resist the Hindu invasion. The Muslim general appealed to the *jagirdars* to march with their armies to Udayagiri which was promptly carried out. Meanwhile, the Sultan sent reinforcements under Ajda Khan whereby Woorias Ray was defeated.

After these successes, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah directed his army towards Penukoṇḍa. The Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives two causes for the attack on Penukoṇḍa[6] : (1) that Veṅkaṭapati shifted his capital to Penukoṇḍa, in violation of the treaties concluded between his predecessor and the Sultan of Golkonda and (2) that Veṅkaṭapati made incursions into the Golkonda dominions. We do not know whether any treaty was concluded to the effect that the Rāya gave up his claims over Penukoṇḍa. It is natural that Veṅkaṭapatirāya, after becoming the Emperor, should have shifted from Candragiri to Penukoṇḍa and made the latter the seat of his administration. The Anonymous chronicler says that Penukoṇḍa lay on the Qutb Shahi frontier. This statement is inconsistent with the available epigraphic sources. Inscriptions of Śrirangarāya I as well as Veṅkaṭapatirāya II record their rule at Penukoṇḍa. Moreover, the statement of the Anonymous chronicler as to the cause of the intended war shows the Sultan's desire to conquer the Vijayanagara territory. The second cause that made the Sultan march on Penukoṇḍa is said to have been the incursions made by Veṅkaṭapatirāya into the Golkonda territory. This might refer to Veṅkaṭapati's recovery of Udayagiri and later, his attempt to regain the Koṇḍaviḍu province. These excuses apart, the main intention of the Sultan was to extend his dominions at the expense of Vijayanagara.

The Golkonda army marched from Gaṇḍikōṭa to Penukoṇḍa unopposed. The army began to lay siege to the fort. The Hindus were alarmed at the rapidity of the march of

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the Muslims. Veṅkaṭapatirāya sent for recruits from his feudatories. With the view to gain the time necessary for the arrival of reinforcement, he opened negotiations with the Sultan. His envoys, Gopraj Timma and Pavia Chetty,[7] went to the Sultan and managed to arrange an immediate armistice. The Golkonda forces retired from the vicinity of the fort. This was taken advantage of by the Hindus. The Rāya's feudatories like the Maṭli and Chennapaṭṭaṇa chiefs and the Nāyaka of Tanjore sent their help.[8] They could have free access to the fort as a result of the absence of the Golkonda forces in the vicinity of the fort. Now the Hindus were in a position to fight out the Muslims. Too late, the Sultan came to know the ruse of the Rāya. He renewed the siege, but his forces, by then, ceased to be effective. Scarcity of provisions in his camp and the setting of the rainy season caused the Sultan's departure to his territory.[9] Before leaving Penukoṇḍa, the Sultan entrusted Sanjar Khan, Asyrow (Aśvarao of *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam*) and Juggat Row with the defence of Gaṇḍikoṭa, Mosalimaḍugu and Nandyāla respectively. He also gave Murtaza Khan the overall command of his forces to the south of the river Kṛṣṇā.

Veṅkaṭapatirāya's success over the Qutb Shah at Penukoṇḍa is mentioned in the indigeneous sources like the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Rāmabhadrāmbā,[10] and the Kaifiyat of Chiṭṭiveli.[11] Both record this event in connection with the help rendered to the Rāya by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Maṭli Ananta respectively. Rāmabhadrāmbā says that Venkaṭapati requested Acyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjore to send him help. The Nāyaka sent an army under the command of his son, Raghunātha. Raghunātha arrived at Candragiri and then marched to Penukoṇḍa. After the success in the battle, Veṅkaṭapati acknowledged Raghunātha's assistance in the public court.[12] The Kaifiyat of Chiṭṭiveli says that Maṭli Ananta was rewarded by the Emperor for his help in the Penukoṇḍa battle. This is confirmed by Maṭli Kumāra Ananta's *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam*[13] and Maṭli Ananta's Sidhout inscription.[14] The Sidhout inscription says that Ananta destroyed the pride of the 'yavanāpadushah' (i.e. the Sultan of Golkonda) in the battle of Penukoṇḍa. The *Satyāpariṇayam* of Ekāmbarnātha mentions the victory of Jagadēkarāya at Penukoṇḍa.[15] He is also said to have killed the chief Sujata Khan, and defeated Murtaza Khan and Nuru Khan.

The date of this battle of Penukoṇḍa has been placed differently by various scholars. The indigenous sources do not provide us with any date for this event. The account of the Anonymous Chronicler alone gives us a date. The chronicler mentions the battle after A.D. 1589, the date for Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's transfer of his capital from Golkonda to Bhagnagar. The events that were noted till 1603, were not dated. So, the date has to be placed in between the two years, viz., A.D. 1589 and 1603. Epigraphic evidence shows that the event should have taken place before 1605, for the Sidhout inscription of Maṭli Ananta dated Ś. 1517, Viśvāvasu (A.D. 1605), refers to the achievement of Maṭli Ananta in destroying the pride of the Sultan at Penukoṇḍa.[16] So this event should be ascribed to a date earlier than A.D. 1605.[17]

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya assigns this battle to A.D. 1594-95.[18] He cites Sayyid Mohiuddin Qadri Zor's 'Sultan Mohammad Quly Qutb Shah' in support of this date.

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According to this work, the sieges of Penukoṇḍa and Gaṇḍikoṭa took place in A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95).[19] Dr. Venkataramanayya takes this date into consideration since the Anonymous Chronicler does not give the actual date of the battle.

According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, the narration of the events mentioned in *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam*[20] and the 'Kaifiyat of Chiṭṭiveli'[21] are chronological, while the events recorded in the Sidhout inscription of Maṭli Ananta dated Ś. 1527, Viśvāvasu (A.D. 1605)[22] are not in a chronological order. This is quite true; for, the inscription refers to the suppression of Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja's rebellion (A.D. 1598) earlier than the fight with Virappa Nāyaka of Madura and as a result, the death of the latter in the fight (A.D. 1595). The orderly mention of the events in *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* does not by itself entitle us to think that the Penukoṇḍa invasion took place in the same year as that of the death of Virappa Nāyaka, as Dr. Venkataramanayya would have us believe.[23] It is probable that the Penukoṇḍa invasion took place earlier than 1595.

We can arrive at the exact date, if the account of the Anonymous Chronicler is carefully read. The account says that, after the Sultans's conquest of, and departure from Penukoṇḍa, the *jagirdars* of the Koṇḍaviḍu country rebelled against the Sultan of Golkonda. It also mentions how the officers of the Sultan crushed the rebellion and brought back the rebels to a sense of obedience to the Sultan. This event is also not dated in the account. But we have an epigraphical source to know the date of this event. The Aminābād inscription of Amin-ul-mulk dated Ś. 1514, Nandana (A.D. 1592)[24] records that the chiefs of the Koṇḍaviḍu province rebelled against the Sultan in the cyclic year, Khara (A.D. 1591), the year previous to the date of the inscription. The inscription also says that the rebellion was crushed by Amin-ul-mulk in A.D. 1592. So, the date of the Penukoṇḍa battle must range between A.D. 1589 and 1591, most probably A.D. 1590.

The success of the Hindu army at Penukoṇḍa was followed by the restoration of the forts now under the Golkonda authority. Veṅkaṭapatirāya, says the Anonymous chronicler, sent an army under Yeltumraj. Goolbrung setty, and Munoopraj to recapture Gaṇḍikoṭa for the Hindus.[25] The identity of these leaders is not known. Telugu literature, on the other hand, credits two of the feudatories of Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāya with success in seizing these places. Velugoṭi Chennappa Nāyuḍu, grandson of Gani Timma captured the fort of Gaṇḍikoṭa.[26] Naḍimiṇṭi, Venkaṭapti's *Abhishiktarāghavamu* says that Maṭli Ananta defeated and drove Aśvarāya (Asva Row of the Anonymous chronicler) and Balakhān (Bahlol Khan) in Rāyalasīma.[27] The *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* confirms this by saying that Ananta defeated the Muslim army under Aśvarāya in Gaṇḍikoṭa.[28] It was during the taking of the last territory by Veṅkaṭapatirāya's feudatories that Jagadēkarāya of Chennapaṭṭaṇa played an important part. The *Satyāpariṇayam* refers to his success over Muslim generals. He killed the chief Sujata Khan and defeated Murtaja Khan and Nuru Khan. Murtaja Khan might be identified with the person of the same name appointed by the Sultan as the Commander of the forces in the conquered territory. Sujata Khan was probably Sanjar Khan who was appointed by the Sultan to govern the territory near about Gaṇḍikoṭa after the siege of Penukoṇḍa.

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The Anonymous Chronicler refers to the success of the Golkonda forces in this connection. He says that Murtaza Khan come to Cuddāpah and laid the country waste. Veṅkaṭapti sent Yeltumuraj against Murtaza. The chronicler says that the Hindus were defeated after a severe battle. But the indigenous literature, as seen above, points to the success of the Hindus. The fact that the Sultan sent Rustam Khan with an army to reinforce Murtaza Khan was probably due to the defeat sustained by the Muslim forces; for, the Sultan ordered Rustam Khan 'to assume the command of all the troops'.[29] As the chronicler himself says, the army of Murtaza Khan confined its operations to plundering. The change of the commanders proved worse. Later, Rustam Khan was displaced by Etibar Khan, the Hawaldar of Koṇḍavīḍu, who was successful in taking Kāḷahasti, now in the Chittoor district.

After his success in the Penukoṇḍa battle, Veṅkaṭapatirāya must have incited some of the Muslim officers in the Koṇḍavīḍu country to rebel against the Golkonda authority. As a result, in A.D. 1592, Alam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Sabaji and Bala Row (Balle Rāya of the Aminābād inscription) rebelled.[30] The Sultan despatched Amin-ul-mulk to crush the rebellion. Amin-ul-mulk defeated all the rebels and restored order in the Koṇḍavīḍu province.[31]

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1. L.P. Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 455.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XII, pp. 159-87 (Dalavai-Agraharam plates dated Ś. 1508=A.D. 1586): These plates record Venkatapati's victory in the following way :
   यस्यातिप्रथितौजसो रणमुखे सेनाभटैरुद्धटैस्साटोपाहृत-
   सैन्धवद्विपघटा-शस्त्रातपत्रादिमः । निर्विण्णो मलिकीभराम-
   तनुभूः संप्राप्य गेहं महैर्मदस्सन्महमंदशाहुश्यते सार्थाभिधामन्वहम् ॥
3. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 452.
4. Briggs (*op cit.*, p. 453) identifies Kalagur with Kurnool.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 454.
7. The Anonymous chronicler calls the former as Veṅkaṭapati's minister and the latter as his general. But the former may be identical with Gopālan Tirumala, the general of Veṇkaṭapati figuring in the latter's inscriptions. It is not possible to identify who Pavia Chetty was.
8. The chronicler mentions only the help of Jagadevaraya who is probably identical with the chief of Chennapaṭṭaṇa mentioned in *Satyāpariṇayam* of Ekāmbaranatha (*Sources*, pp. 229-30). There is evidence to think that Maṭli Ananta and Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore also helped the Emperor.
9. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 454.
10. *Sources*, p. 285.
11. *Further Sources*, Vol. II, No. 216 (b).
12. *Sources*, p. 286.
13. *Further Sources*, Vol. II, No. 216 (c).
14. *Sources*, pp. 248-50; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 103 ff.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-50.

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17. Contra, *The History of the Nayaks of Madura* by Prof. R. Satyanatha Aiyar and edited by Dr. S.K. Aiyangar. Dr. Aiyangar, in a foot-note on page 102, says that the Golkonda invasion of Penukoṇḍa took place in 1610. Speaking of the inability of the Vijayanagara Emperor to take steps to take over the Seringapatam viceroyalty instead of its falling into the hands of Raja Wodeyar in 1610, Dr. Aiyangar says that the Emperor 'was then involved in a war caused by the invasion of the imperial territories by the Muhammadans of Golkonda and culminating in a siege of Penukoṇḍa'. This view does not find corroboration in any other available sources. We come to know of only one invasion by Golkonda in the reign of Veṇkaṭapati. That is the same referred to by the Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda.
18. *Raghunāthanāyakābhyudayamu* and *Raghunāthābhyudapamu*, ed. by Dr.N. Venkataramanayya and Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, Introduction, p. 26; Contra, E*p. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p.110.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Further Sources*, Vol. II, No. 216 (c).
21. *Ibid.*, 216 (b).
22. *Sources*, pp. 248-50.
23. *Raghunāthanāyakābhyudayamu* and *Raghunāthābhyudayamu*, ed. by N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma, Introduction, pp. 25-26.
24. *Sources*, pp. 239-41.
25. Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 456.
26. *Further sources*, Vol. II, No. 209.
27. *Ibid.*, No. 216 (a).
28. *Ibid.*, No. 216 (c).
29. Briggs, *op. cit*, p. 456.
30. *Sources*, pp. 239-41.
31. *Loc. cit.*,

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Origin of Republics in India with Special Reference to the Yaudheya Tribe

MAHESH KUMAR SHARAN

We find Republican form of government prevalent in India from *Vedic* period as the miraculous word *'Gana'* is mentioned even in *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*. The *Ṛgveda* is the oldest recorded history of India—nay of the World. Of course, the connotation and the denotation of the word *Gaṇa* has undergone various changes as regards its evolution, development and meaning. The word *Gaṇa* implies 'the sense of hosts' in reference to *Maruts* and Gods in general.[1] This term has been mentioned twenty two times in the *Ṛgveda* and four times in the *Athrvaveda*. In the *Ṛgveda*[2] we find a prayer in which *Brahamanaspati* has beed invoked as *Gaṇānam Tva Gaṇapati* and *Jyeṣtha-Rājam* 'meaning' Lord and Leader of Heavenly Hosts and King supreme (of prayers)' respectively.[3] And thus we may justly presume that the *Vedic Āryans* might have been familiar with organised bodies of people, *Gaṇas*, living under many leaders of kings—*Rājanaḥ* of whom one was the *Jyeṣtha-rāja*, that is, king-supreme. In another place in the *Ṛgveda*[4] we find *Rājanah Samitaviva* which has been explained by *Sāyana* as kings in Samiti. And as such the term clearly shows that there was a political organisation having a *Samiti*, popular assembly as well as many *Rājās* as leaders.

In the *Atharvāveda*[5] too we find the words *Gaṇa* and *Mahāgaṇa* used in the sense of hosts. Thus we can say that there existed possibly tribal groups who lived an organised political life not under any one king or leader but under several kings. It is, therefore, rightly suggested that villages must have enjoyed corporate life with all the functions of an autonomous body. *Gaṇas* must have been organised groups with popular assemblies, i.e. *Samiti* and *Rājās* as leaders. This can be considered to be a safe proof in support of Republican form of Government in opposition to Monarchical form. Notwithstanding the Republican form of Government in *Vedic* age, the Monarchical form was the order of the day, even in the *Vedic* period.

The best illustration of *Gaṇas* is found in the *Mahābhārata*[6] where *Gaṇas* are referred to as an organisation of assembly–government or Republic. The general meaning of this is assembly[7] while the technical meaning is assembly-government or a republic. *Gaṇas* were remarkable for their successful foreign policy, for their full treasuries for their warlike preparations, for their skill in war, for their praise-worthy

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laws and for their discipline. The *Gaṇa* in the *Mahābhārata* referred to the whole body politic i.e. the entire political community[8] and in the alternative, the Parliament and not to the governing body only as suggested by Thomas.[9] The governing body consisted of the *Gaṇa-mukhyas* and *Pradhāna* (Chief and President) who was entrusted with the charge of conducting the affairs of the community.[10] *Gaṇa-mukhyas* discussed important resolutions of the state.[11] They supervised the administration of justice. This shows that the executive maintained altogether a separate entity of course under the *Gaṇas*. In the *Śāntiparva*,[12] the whole function of government is mentioned in brief. Leaders of *Gaṇas* were subordinate to the President whose orders they had to obey. Addressing the king, the *Mantra* says that the jurisdiction to conduct the community should be mainly vested in them. The term '*Gaṇas*' has been further interpreted as a political self-governing corporation which also implies the sense in such expression as—'*Yaudheya-Gaṇasya-Jaya*' occuring on the coins of the *Yaudheyas* and '*Mālava-Gaṇa-Sthiti*' occurring in the *Mandsor* inscription of *Kumaragupta*.[13]

In the *Manusmriti*, the term *Gaṇa* is mentioned and this has been interpreted by various scholars in more than one sense. In *Manu* III, 164 this term is interpreted as peoples or guilds. *Govindrāja* and *Kulluka* commenting on the term in IV-209 explain it as fraternity of *Brāhmaṇa* inhabiting a monastery. In *Nārada* 1.7 also the term *Gaṇa* has been explained by one commentator to mean a fellowship such as the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and by others as an assembly of co-inhabitants while the same word in X. 2 is explained on the authority of *Kātyayā-na* to signify an assemblage of families. The *Vivādaratnākara* takes the term *Gaṇa* to mean an association of the *Brāhmaṇs* alone; the *Smṛiti-candrikā*[14] in the sense of a confederation of *Kulas* while the *Vyavrhāramukhya* takes it as a composite confederation of all other associations. *Nārada* introduces in X. 2, a new term '*Puga*' which the *Viramitrodaya* interpret in three senses :—

1. Companies of traders and others.
2. Association of persons differing in castes whose mode of living is not fixed and
3. Riders on elephants and horses.

Yājnavalkya[15] has also used this term. The *Mitāksrā* explains it as the assembly of the co-inhabitants of a village or town of different castes and occupations differing from the *Sreṇī* which is a more limited group of persons of a particular craft or occupation not strictly of the same caste or creed. The *Vivādaratnākara* explains the word '*Puga*' as a guild of merchants and others.

The term *Gaṇa* as a political institution had long ceased to exist in the time of legal commentators.[16] But they never interpreted *Gaṇa* to mean as Tribe. According to them, it was an artificial assembly. Jolly also, in his translation of *Narada*[17] inteprets *Gaṇa* ās an assembly of co-habitants.[18] He has translated the term *Gaṇa*[19] as assembly and *Gaṇārtham* as 'on behalf of society'.

Amarasiṁha in his *Amarakoṣa* explains the words, *Rajaka* and *Rājanyaka* as *Gaṇa* of kings and a *Gaṇa* of *Ksatriyas* (Ordinary rulers) respectively.[20]

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In '*Avadāna Śataka*'[21] we find a very clear description of the term *Gaṇa* which differentiates it from monarchical form of Government. At the time of the *Buddha*, some merchants from Northern India had gone to Deccan where they were asked by the king about the rulers of their country. In reply, the former said, 'Your Majesty, some countries are under *Gaṇas* and some are under kings."[22] This statement leaves us in no doubt that these two forms of government were prevalent in northern India at that time.

We get a vivid and lucid description of the working of the *Gaṇas* in Buddhist texts. In the beginning the *Buddha* was questioned as to how the numbers of the monks were to be made out.[23] At this the *Buddha* had replied that the brethren should be counted on the *Uposatha* day by the system employed in a *Gaṇa* or by collecting voting tickets—"I prescribe, O *Bhikkhu*, that you count (the *Bhikkhu*) on the day of *uposatha* by the method of *Gaṇas* (*Ganamaggena Ganetum*) or that you take the voting tickets (*Śalākā*)."[24] According to the system of *Gaṇa Bhikkhus* were counted in assembly. In this method ballot-voting was used where tickets were collected. All matters of state in the assembly of republics were discussed. There is one example of it by which the whole working of this method is clearly understood. Once the capital of *Śakyas* was besieged by the king of *Kośala*. At the point of question of surrender the *Śakyas* decided to take the view of the majority and voting was done on the subject.[25] Here we find the element of 'voting' and 'majority' present in the system. The Buddhist *Saṁgha* was no better than the political *Saṁgha*. Thus a common system is found in political and religious *Saṁghas* and in both the technicalities of procedure or deliberation was strictly followed.

The term '*Gaṇapūraka*' of the *Pāli* canon relates to an officer whose duty was to ensure the proper numerical strength of the members i.e. the quorum to be completed before transaction of any business. This literally means that he was the completer of the *Gaṇas*,[26] and as such, it is obvious that Gana was the Assembly or Parliament, because of the 'number' or 'numering' of the members present. Hence the *Gaṇarajya* is another name of government by assembly or Parliament. In other words this *Gaṇa* is the same as 'Parliament' or 'Senate' which implies republican form or republic itself.

In *Jātakas* too we find the mention of *Gaṇa* which was prevalent in Sravasti. The families in *Śrāvastī* unitedly managed the entertainment of the *Bhikkhus* of *Buddha* order. Sometimes three families joined together while sometimes feast was provided to the *Bhikkhus* by four families. There are instances in which the whole quarter joined together for this purpose. And thus 'many' people managed the entertainment by 'combing' according to the *Gaṇa*-binding (*Gaṇa bandhana*).[27] The real sense of Gana was thus present in the assembly or association.

In *Jaina* literature we find the term *Gaṇa* used in the sense of a group of men 'Possessing a mind' of being conscious. But there is also sometimes the use of the terms like the *gaṇas* of the *Vasu* (*Vasu* gods) and *Bhava-gana* which are non-social. But the *gaṇas* of the *Mallas* are known as republican communities which possessed mind and a corporate constitutional body of men.

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In the *Jaina Kalpasūtra* the terms *Gaṇa Kula* and *Śākhā* are used in various senses. Gana denotes the school derived from one teacher; Kula, the succession of teachers from one line and the *Śākhā*, the line which branch off from one teacher. The *Jaina* inscription of *Mathurā* which is of *Kaniska* age[28] often uses the terms *Gaṇa, Kula, Śākhā* and *Sambhoga* (Luders List No. 27), e.g. the *Kottiya* (*Kautikka*) *Gaṇa*, the *Sthānīya Kula*, the *Śrīgrīha Sambhoga*, the *Āryaveri* (*Āryavajrī*) *Śākhā*. In the *Vinaya*[29] we find the mention of *Saṁgha, Gaṇa, Puga* and Sreni. In the *Cullavaga*[30] we find these terms wherein it is said that it was the turn of a *Puga* to feed the *Saṁgha.*

Pāṇini has very explicitly described the *Hindu* Republics of his time. He makes no distinction between Gana and Saṁgha. He considers Gaṇa to be the other name of Saṁgha. While describing the formation of the word *Saṁgha* in III.[31] 3.86, he says that the word Saṁgha (as against the regular *Saṁghata*[32] derived from han III. 376) is used in the sense of *Gaṇa.* In his time religious Saṁgha was not prominent. As a matter of fact religious Samgha is nothing but a copy of the political *Saṁgha.* And so there is not the least doubt that the *Saṁgha* was another name of Gana at the time of *Pāṇini.* The *Majjhima Nikāya*[33] too places *Saṁgha* and *Gaṇa* side by side, i.e. it equates *Gaṇa* with *Saṁgha.* We can, therefore, safely conclude that *Saṁgha* and *Gaṇa* are the two names of the political republics—(*imesam pi hi bho Gotama Saṁghānaṁ Gaṇānaṁ seyathīdam Vijjinaṁ Mallānam*)—'and this is so, O Gotam, in respect of the *Saṁghas, Gaṇas* for instance the *Vijjis, Mallas.*'[34] The religious *Saṁgha* was probably formed at this time, and this was the beginning when this meaning was being adopted.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* refers to a number of Republican States and the existence of such states is attested by Megasthenes who described them as 'Kingless states'. These states have been mentioned by *Pānini* as *Āyudhajivin,*[35] which, according to *Kauṭilya,* is *Śāstropajīvins* i.e., 'those who live by the profession of arms.'[36] But this meaning is not maintainable for the reason that the *Arthaśāstra* contrasts the *Śastropajivin Saṁghas* with *Rājaśabdopajivins Saṁghms*[37] and secondly because rulers of the *Saṁghas* assume the 'title' (*śabda*) of Rajan. It is quite clear from inscriptions, coins and literature that elected or appointed rulers in some Indian republics did not have the title—'Raja'. So in order that the meaning would suit both kinds of *Kautilya's* republic, we have to adopt upajiva to mean to observe (which is the other known meaning of the text) as implied in *Manu* where a *Brāhamaṇa* is asked to *Upajiva* the six duties which include making gifts.[38] *Upajivin* in that sense would mean that the *Saṁghas* called '*śastropajivin*' observed the practice of arms of military art and that the Saṁghas called *Rājaśabdopajivins* observed the practice of assuming the title of '*Rājan*', that is to say, the respective constitution enjoined on the members to be skilled in military arts in the former and on the rulers or every privileged member to bear the title in the latter.

Besides these *samghas, Pāṇini* gives six other communities which are known to have republican[39] form of government. Of course, *Pāṇini* does not say that these were *Saṁghas.* The *Andhaka-Vṛishni* is another *Saṁgha* which has been mentioned by Panini. The *Satvats* of the *Purāṇas* had the *Bhaujya* constitution according to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,*[40] and their rulers were called *Bhojas.* This statement is verified by *Mahābhārata* too and the sub-division of the *Yādvas* itself is latterly called Bhojas.[41] The

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fact that the *Vrishṇi* had no '*Rājan*' in their constitituion is expressed folklore and legend which ever that they had been cursed not to be crowned kings. The *Mahābhārata*[42] asserts that the *Daśārnas* (*Vrishṇis*) were 'Kingless'. *Kautilya* also says that the *Vrishṇi Saṁgha* had offended *Daipayana* in ancient times and so they were in grief.[43] The *Mahābharata* also says that the *Andhaka-Vrishni Saṁgha*[44] had no republican '*Rājan*'. On their coins, we have no mention of the name of the kings; they are struck in the names of the *Gaṇas*.[45]

The *Jātaka* mentions the *Lichhivis* as republican or *Gaṇa*-rulers.[46] The government of the *Lichhavis* has been described in the *Jātaka*. There were four high officials to conduct the government and they were the President (*Rājā*), Vice-President (*Uparājā*), Generalissimo (*Senāpati*) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Bhaṇḍāgārika*). Vaisali was the capital of the *Lichhavis*. The government (*Rajjam*) vested in the inhabitants (*vasantanam*), 7, 707 in number, all of whom were entitled to rule (*Rajunam* Kings). It was from amongst these *Rājans* that the officials were elected. In other words they were the founder families and as such they were executive office-holders. The population was 1,68,000.[47] In the Parliament they discussed politics, agriculture, commerce and military matters. A mention about the appointment of the *Mahattaka* of a distinguished member has been made. He was the envoy charging with the duty of delivering a message and transacting business on behalf of the people.[48]

We know from *Arthasāstra* that there had been two kinds of *Saṁghas*. One of them was the class where consult bore the title of '*Rājā*' or 'Kings'. Among this class the most important of them are the seven named below :

1. *Lichhavikas*.
2. The *Vṛijikas*.
3. The *Mallakas*.
4. The *Madrakas*.
5. The *Kukuras*.
6. The *Kurus*.
7. The *Panchalas* and others.

The other class of *Kautilya* republics which had no king consul, are :

1. The *Kāmbhojas*.
2. The *Saurāshṭras*.
3. The *Ksatriyas*.
4. The *Srenis* and others.

Each state of this type was a nation-in-arms. The most inportant feature of their constitution was that they compelled their citizens to acquire military skill. Thus they had a citizen army but it can not be that they were purely military organs, for they were very careful and attentive to their agriculture and industry (Varttasastropajivinah) which was the main cause of their richness and strength.

Megasthenes, the Greek envoy in the court of Chandragupta *Maurya* says that the country enjoyed two forms of government—Monarchical and Republican. 'They.....

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report every thing to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed![49]

The Greek writers described the Kathaians as one of the most powerful nations of India. According to Strabo, amongst them the handsomest man is chosen as King.[50] Not only the *Kathaians* opposed and fought against Alexander but many independent Indian nations or Republics on the banks of *Rāvi* opposed him.[51] Besides these republican states, the name of the *Yaudheyas* is prominent. They fought stubbornly against Alexander.[52] The republic of the *Yaudheyas* was perhaps the largest one, as their coins have been found in a very vast area. Like the *Lichchhavis* of earlier times, the tribal heads of the *Yaudhaya* adopted the vice-regal title. We know of a unique inscription of the Yaudheyas in an ornate script which was discovered in the state of *Bharatpur*.[53] In this inscription a mention has been made about the elected president who has been made the leader of the Yaudheya-Gana. He was given the title of *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati*. This inscription is considered to belong to the *Gupta* period.[54]

The *Yaudheyas* used a term *Gaṇa* for themselves. According to Jayaswal'[55] this *Gaṇa* is considered to be the same as modern democracy. He quotes references in support of the fact that the *Gaṇas* were in existence in a much earlier date than these coins. This has been doubted by P.L. Gupta,[56] who considers that the word Gana must not have meant the sa me thing, in the later period. He thinks that '*Janapada*' and *Gaṇa* referred to democracy but they must have meant distinctly two different forms of the same. In his opinion the word Gana should mean some sort of federation. We know of their federal communion with the *Arjunāyanas* and the *Kuṇindas* at the time when they had decided to over-throw the Kusana power.

Punjab and Sindh, which happened to come under the thorough survey of the Greek writers had only two or three states with monarchical form of government. The kingdoms of Poros and the *Abhisaras* can be mentioned among them. The rest of the country was republican. This is certified further by the account of Plutarch's (LX) about Poros :

> '.....Alexander then not only re-instated Poros in his kingdom with the title of Satrap, but added a large province to it, subduing the inhabitants whose form of government was republican'.

In the 3rd and the early 4th century A.D., when the *Yaudheyas* are known to dominate a definite locality in the Kangra valley, they issued coins from Sunet near Ludhiana which probably was their centre, as many moulds used for casting their coins have been found in this locality. Coins of this period bore the legend—'*Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jayah*'.[57] This reveals that they again reverted to a constitution which contained the importance of the *Gaṇa*. The presiding or the tutelary deity or the leader probably ceased to have his dominant influence.

We have seen that *Pāṇini* refers to the *Yaudheyas* as *Saṁgha* but the *Yaudheyas* have preferred themselves as *Gaṇa* on their coins The *Mahābhārata* also mentions both these terms—*Saṁgha* and *Gaṇa*, to mean republican state in general.[58] As referred by *Pāṇini*, the *Yaudheyas* orgnised a republican type of state.[59] K.P Jayaswal[60] goes further

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to prove that the democracy of the *Yaudheyas* was not at all conservative and narrow in general set-up, rather it was tribal in the strict sense of the term. He refers to the *Mahābhārata* in which mentions have been made about the set-up of the tribe based on legal and communal understanding with purely nontribal conditiions. *Pāṇini* also mentions that the martial states had men of all castes and not of one Gotra or one tribal origin.

The word Gana has been interpreted in different ways by different western scholars :

1. J.F. Fleet 'A tribe'.
2. M. Williams ,,
3. Buhler—'A corporation of traders and workmen'
4. Jolley—'An Assembly'.

As we have seen, Jayaswal has almost refuted the view of the above noted western scholars. On the basis of literary and archaeological evidences, he interprets Gana as a republican state. It means the numbers. Ganarajya, therefore, will mean-'the rule of numbers or the rule of many'.[61] The term *Saṁgha* also denotes a republican state, of course a confederation of many republics. *Katyāyana*[62] also takes the term Saṁgha as a form of government distinct from 'Ekraja', where sovereignty is vested in one and not in many.

While the word *Gaṇa* stands for individual republic, the *Saṁgha* stands for a confederate republican state. Of course some times they have been used as synonyms.

Unlike the legnds of their contemporaries, who used the work '*Janapada*', the *Yaudheyas* used their names in plural. A deduction can be drawn from this that the *Yaudheyas* were something more than mere '*Janapada*'. They must have been having a different form of democracy, probaly a confederation of tribes, which is actually a historical fact about which we have known (their confederation with the *Arjunayanas* and the *Kuṇindas*).

Pāṇini and *Kauṭilya* as also the *Mahābhārata*, use the words *Gaṇa* and *Saṁgha* in a political signification to mean autonomous kingless classes or corporations as distinguished from kingship.

Samudragupta's conquests were extensive. Partly by his annexations and partly by impositions of his supremacy, he controlled a very large empire. But various tribal states in the Punjab and Malava including the *Yaudheyas* enjoyed autonomy under the protection of the paramount power. The coins of the Yaudheyas and their votive tablets discovered at Ludhiana support their independent administrative system. They were actually having tribal oligarchies.[63]

From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, we learn that the *Yaudheya's* representative came to offer submission to the *Gupta* emperor. He was definitely not a king. It is, therefore, evident that there was no monarchical form of government prevalent in this tribe although it is sure that the sovereignty must not have been vested in the whole of the population.

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The Buddhist literature as also the account of the Greek writers testify the fact that the central assembly of the non-monarchical states of the 4th century B.C., consisted mostly of the members of the landed military aristocracy of the Kshatriya class. Of course the villages and towns had their own popular councils consisting of the elders of all professions and classes of society.

McCrindle,[64] describes the government of the *Yaudheyas* and says that it was a Parliamentary-Aristocracy. The Parliament consisted of 5,000 representatives. Arrian,[65] in his 'Indica' refers to a very great number of elephants in the army of the tribe and also their superior size and great courage. It is said, that each member of the Parliament used to supply one elephant to the state army. This description tallies with *Kauṭilya's*—'*Vārttā-Śastropajivin*' also. And here also, we find another proof of their democratic set-up as it must not have been possible for one individual to afford the heavy price of an elephant. He must have, therefore, been a representative of some constituency, the citizens of which might be contributing towards this costly affair.

The presence of a tribe named 'Sambracaeoe' or 'Sabraoe' during the invasion of Alexander; has been mentioned by Quintus Curtius.[66] The tribe did not have a king. It had three generals. The coins of the *Yaudheyas* also depict the existence of three tribal divisions within themselves. It is, therefore, evident from the above also that the description of Curtius is containing the reference of the *Yaudheyas* only.

The Bijaigadh stone-inscription proves that they had an elected 'President'. The order is issued by him.[67] In this inscription, he is described as the President by the *Gaṇa* of the *Yaudheyas*.

Some impressions have been found in Hoshiarpur bearing the legend-'*Yodheyānāṁ Jaya Mantradhāranāṁ*'. It is not clear whether the impression is from official seal or of coin but anyhow, they are in the name of the *Yaudheyas* and their cabinet or their executive committee. The executive committee is called '*Maṅtradhāra*' which means 'those vested with the policy of the state'.[68]

One set of the *Yaudheya* coins is struck in the name of the 'Mantradharas' and the 'Gana', while the other set is struck simply in the name of '*Gaṇa*'. It, therefore, appears that the chief or leaders of the *Gaṇa* formed the executive body of the cabinet. And as the *Mahābhārata* says that the main difficulty with the *Gaṇa* type of constitution is about the maintenance of secrecy because of the large numerical strength of its members, it is probable that they might have formed another body of the 'Elders' forming a second house. These members of the second house had varrying powers, differing according to their different individual constitutions.

The view of some historians, who consider the word '*Maṅtradhāranāṁ*' to mean 'those who were in possession of Victory charm'—does not have any justification.

Kauṭilya[69] also defines '*Maṅtra*' to accomplish the understanding of what is not or cannot be seen, imparting the strength of a definite conclusion to what is apprehended, removal of doubt when two courses or opinions are possible, and influence of the whole matter when only a part of it is known. He eulogises the importance of 'Mantra'

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stating that 'an arrow discharged by an expert archer may or may not kill a man, but well considered policy operated upon by a wiseman ,would destroy even these in womb.'[70] In literature; '*Maṅtra*' was recognised as a source of victory.[71] It was this word '*Maṅtra*' which must have meant secrecy or the secrets of a governmental policy, for which unprecedented importance has been given by the greatpolitician—*Kauṭilya*, and also by Manu. *Manu*[72] advises the removal, not only of men but even animals, who were likely to disclose the deliberations. It must have been used, therefore, to denote secret policy matters. In view of the above the meaning of '*Maṅtra*' cannot be 'Victory Charm'. It must have been used for those upholders of the governmental secret policies who formed the administrative machinery.

The central assembly of the *Yaudheyas* used to elect the central executive of the republics.[73] In times of war and difficulties, aristocratic families used to manage administration and lead the armies though they did not usually had the title of *Rājā* and *Mahārāja*. The head of the *Yaudheya* state was given the regal title of '*Mahārāja*' but the post was elective[74] and he was not permitted to put his name on the state coinage. This so-called *Mahārāja* used to be the commander-in-chief of the tribe besides being the head of the state.

It is not actually well-established as to how these *Mahārājas* were elected. It is presumed that the Presidents of the City-Councils and the village *Panchāyats* and also the members of their autocracy took part in the elections. A few leading families must have been putting their candidates for this election.

V.A. Smith[75] has suggested that the tribal constitution of the *Yaudheyas* may have been of Tibetan origin. He refers to the 'Curious form of elective Chieftainship discovered in the Chumbi Valley' (as published in the weekly edition of the Madras Mail dated 12th of July, 1906), but nothing has been suggested as a clear proof on the identification of the *Yaudheyas* having been of Tibetan origin. K.P. Jayaswal[76] refutes this view of Smith and finds it hard to believe as to why this Tibetan illustration should be made to serve to fill up the vacuum of Indian details. It is perhaps because no details of Indian constitution of that period was known to Smith. He finds nothing corresponding to them so far the Parliament or the *Gaṇa* the *Mantradhāras*, the elected presidents of *Yaudheyas* are concerned, as we definitely know that the government in the Chumbi valley had been a theocratic one.

R.C. Agrawala[77] mentions about some coins bearing the legend '*Yaudheya Janapada*'. These coins were unearthed at Naurangabad. This rare collection is now kept in the Gurukula Museum at Jhajjnar in the district of Rohtak. Then came a period of confederation when in c. A.D. 200, the *Kunindas*, the *Yaudheyas* and the *Aajunāyanas* formed a union of tribes. The foreign and military affairs remained centrally controlled, probably by a council of Presidents of these republics elected by the federating units. These presidents enjoyed the title of '*Mahāraj-Mahāsenāpati*' as we have discussed earlier. This is further confirmed by the prevalence of the word '*Dvi*' and '*Tri*' on some of the coins of this tribe which indicate that they belong to the second and the third sections of the tribe. In the 5th century A.D., they disappeared totally and their

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republican or Gana coinage also came to an end by c. A.D. 400. As per Jayaswal's inference, Samudragupta was the killer of the free-spirit of these tribes but this is contradicted again by the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, as it is evident from it that the *Yaudheyas* had accepted the supremacy of Samudragupta in a general way and exercised full autonomy in their own state. How the democratic traditions were allowed to vanish and how the posts of the Presidents (*Mahārājas* or *Mahāsenāpatis*) become hereditary, is still vague as we lack the names and the genealogy of these dignitaries. Somehow, the following logically acceptable reasons can be advanced in this regards:

1. The tendency of regarding monarchy as divine right might have increased and induced the republic to accept the leadership of the hereditary presidents, known afterwards as the Maharajas.
2. It could have been realised that the scope of the development of a monarchical state into an empire was unlimited as compared to the republican form.
3. A monarchical form of government had greater scope of protection against aggression from outside the state.
4. It might have been considered more effective in domestic administration during peace and war.
5. Some of the strong Presidents might not have allowed others to succeed him after an election.

At any rate, modern India may take pride in the fact that though the country did not have purely democratic governments in the present sense of the term, goverment by discussion was prevalent in ancient Indian civilization.[78]

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31

Military System of the Rajput States* During "Grand Anarchy"

(A.D. 1707 to 1857)

RAVINDRA KUMAR SHARMA

Before rendering their services to the Mughal Empire, the Rajput rulers were mainly dependent on the Jagirdars for the army. Generally they had no permanent army. With the death of Aurangzeb the Rajputs began to maintain large army. There were two main reasons for this change. They had to defend themselves from (a) the neighbouring states, and (b) the Maratha invasions. The maintenance of permanent army became essential because the central power i.e. (Delhi) became very weak.[1] The beginning of eighteenth century is the time of the fall of the Mughals and the rise of the Marathas.

The period from A.D. 1707 to 1857 is known as 'Grand Anarchy' due to incessant wars, uprisings and tumult. Nearly every part of India was in the flames of war. The Rajput states also could not keep themselves aloof of the impact of war. They had to bear devastating attacks of the Marathas. It was only due to their efficient military administration that they could maintain peace, business and communication during this period of anarchy. Inspite of certain follies they were able to save their people and territories to a large extent. The Rajput art of war and its history is a long chain. I have tried to describe one of the phases of this chain on the basis of resources available in different Government and private archives. During the period under study, the Rajput rulers assigned to 'Bakshi' the task of recruitment of the army, marking of the horses and registration of their names and payment to the soldiers and maintenance of its accounts.[2] A permanent cavalary and infantry became an important feature of the Rajput forces.[3] Maharaja Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur had an army of twenty thousand soldiers.[4] Apart from "The Ahadnama of Ahmadabad", Abhay Singh had twenty five thousand soldiers. The Maharajas of 'Jodhpur', 'Bikaner' and 'Jaipur' had a large army at that time inspite of the fact that their forces and power used to be divided owing to their personal rivalries.[5] In addition to these the 'Jagirdars' and the 'Thakurs' also maintained army.[6] Whenever the Maharaja called them, they had

*A case study of Rajaputana.

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to present themselves along with their cavalry before him. The Jagirdars were hereditary. Neither their identification was registered nor the Bakshi of the Maharaja used to inspect their accounts. As in the ancient period, their soldiers were headed by 'Local Sardars' in the battle-field. The army of the Jagir was called 'Jagir-i-Jamiyat'. It was not so beneficial as they preferred their personal interests. But the existence of Central army was not possible without the Jagir army. The loss of soldiers in the battle-field was to be compensated by the Jagir army which was quite reliable. For example, in the battle of 'Patan' on 20th June, 1790, most of the soldiers of the Jodhpur Army were killed and by September 1790 this loss was compensated by the Thakurs of the state. In this way, within three months the ruler of Jodhpur had thirty six thousand soldiers in the battle of 'Medhta' (Merta).[7]

Payment to the Army

The description in the contemporary accounts 'Bahi', available in Udaipur and Jaipur Archives, reveals that two or three riders were to be deputed for every thousand Rupees of annual income of Jaipur. In this way each rider was to get about Rs. 250/-. They had to serve both within their own territories and outside. On every important festival they had to present themselves at the court. The foreign soldiers were paid more salary than the local Jagir soldiers. In Mewar Abdul Rahim Baig was given a Jagir worth Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 25,000 each.

Military Officers : Their Recruitment and Inspection

It was a tradition among the Rajput States that the ruler was to be the Commander-in Chief of the army. Swai Jai Singh, Ajit Singh, Madho Singh, etc., all led their army. Their 'Prantpatis', 'Samants' and petty 'Thikanedars' also led their army and these troops were to be included in the forces of the Maharaja. In addition to the Bakshi, the 'Diwan' also recruited for the army. The office of the Bakshi was hereditary and his duties were like that of the Bakshi of the Mughal Empire. Mainly Rajputs were recruited in the army but, in the eighteenth Century, Eastern Rajputs, known as 'Purbias', 'Sindhis', 'Arabians', 'Rohilas', 'Minas', 'Nagas' and 'Sanyasis' were also recruited.[8] The Bakshi used to register name, designation and mark of identification of soldiers and horses and the register was to be produced before the king at the time of inspection. The Bakshi also had to carry out inspection occasionally. One important aspect of the military history of this period was that due to internal revolts and conflicts among the Rajput states, the recruitment of the Eastern Rajputs, Arabs, Pathans and Rohilas became essential.[9] In Jodhpur army, particularly there were 'Sanyasis and Dedupanthis[10] and also four thousand Minas[11] and five thousand Nagas[12] with fifteen thousand riders. In the battle with the Marathas, the Rajput kings deployed Nagas, Sanyasis and Dadupanthis in large number.[13] They recruited them because of their knowing latest (modern) tactics of warfare. Probably, this was the reason for the success of the Rajputs in the battle of 'Tunga'.[14] We find reference in the correspondence of the Maharajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur[15] that both of them recruited foreign soldiers. 'Trained Europeans were recruited by the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner and

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Udaipur.[16] In Jaisalmer, the expenditure on foreign soldiers was about Rs. 75,000.[17] The military councillors of Jhala Zalim Singh of Kota were Dalelkhan and Mehrabkhan along with the Rajputs who were paid exhorbitantly to win their confidence. These foreign soldiers were recruited because they were well off in modern warfare and they were utilized to quell the revolt of local and 'Jagiri' soldiers on the question of disputes over succession or for any others reason.[18] In Marwar also the Afghans and the Rohilas were kept for this purpose. Man Singh, the ruler of Marwar, had three thousand and five hundred horse riders and fifteen cannons under Hindalkhan.[19] The Sanyasi-Dal was paid Rs. 11,000/-as total salary per month. There were about thirteen thousand foreign soldiers in the Jaipur State by the end of the eighteenth century.[20] It is important to note that except the Rajput soldiers all other soldiers were considered to be foreign soldiers. In Jaipur, an army of ten battalion was of foreigners which included four thousand Nagas. Ari Singh of Mewar had a large army of Sindhis led by Sardar Abdul Rahim Baig (A.D. 1770), a Muslim from Sindh.[21] He helped Ari Singh against Ratan Singh. Ari Singh paid him Rs. 2 lakh per annum and Rs. 25,000 cash. He was honoured in the Court equivalent to Sardar of 'Sadri' and 'Rawat of Great Salumber.' In addition to this he was given a piece of land worth Rs. 10,000, outside the Debari Darwaza; Haveli of Bharat Singh, and accommodation for residence; one hundred bigha of land outside the city for garden; village Matun for fire wood and grass; one hundred bigha of land for burial ground; and other facilities. This account is available in the Patta granted to Sardar Abdul Rahim Baig of Sindh which is as follows: The language of the Document is contemporary Rajasthani.

SHRI RAMOJAYATI

SHRI GANESH PRASADATU SHRI EKLING PRASADATU

←———

(Mark of Arrow)

(Attasted) (MOHAR)

—Swasti Shri Udaipur Suthane Maharajadhiraj Maharana
—Shri Ari Singhji aadeshatu
—Meerza Abdul Rahim Baig Adal Begot Kasya.
—I Apra.
—Mewar ra Doyasirdara Ratanseengh nama daine fitur kare Bakhero ki to deekhanyari fhauj Ane Udaipur Morchha lagaya janimaha the acchee reet suchakaree pugane raj rakhyo jani babat meharban whene eetree kare thetho so thahra Baita pota parwana men lakhya so sara lakhya jo sabat mara pagrovego jo parwana ne lapego nee the Savadharma su chakari rogaheej.
—Sudeekhaya javoga ne darbar kee badangee karoga ne mahanra pagaro whene kasar padega janeede Shri Ekling ji ri aan.
—He Chitor maryaro paap he-beegat.
—Pato rupaya 200000 doy lakh rone rupaya 25000 pacheess hajar aok sal darsala pata mahe 10000 das hajar ree jayaga debaree bare bakee kathe.
—Havelee Baba Bharat Siharee revaha-baree beegha 10 das Grama ek geerwaro-gama Matun.

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—Ajmeree baig rarh mahe kama aayo janeeree kabrar nakhe dhartee beegha 100 saraya bari sparoo-baithak mer marjada.
—Sadaree parmane kare deegho ne nagara roduvo bari pola.
—Tayee ek danko I-beegata-amar valeno pen.
—Des rava ro seerpava dooji motada.
—Saree Sutaree
—Ganva Aahera sudee—dooji.
mer marjad salumbara pramane kare deegho ne peeriyan darpeeriyan salumbara ra gharriyaun kare rakhya so pata pramane jameet.
—Shree bandagee karoga I bhajagara.
—Mewara-ree tatha deekhanya.
—Ree saree Rawat Bheem Singh.
—Ne the bhalavhe Karoga.
—Thahro bhayee tatha chakar koyee chhorne darbar dave to Chakar rakhno naheer tatha seerdar bhayea babita rakha naheen—chamaree karayo hajoor ree swaree veegara eklavhega jetha rarkhwaro hukum so rakhega—Manvaraheg Chamanbeg Anvarbeg Resamee bethak ro hukum balena ghora seerpava das savaro duvo aur bhayee baita doya chara ree bethak ro hukam so bethva sareekho vhego so baithgee I-ukeel.
—Sada manda rahe janeere mermar jaada rakhanee I—Pravangee Saha Moti Ram Bolya samvat 1826 var sha Bhadava sudee II some 11.

Because of the above mentioned facilities provided to the foreign soldiers, the Rajput sardars became envious of them, which led to discontentment in the Rajput army.[22] So, it can be concluded that recruitment of foreign soldiers did not prove a success. The Naga soldiers in Rajput army proved to be the most useless soldiers.[23]

Divisions of Rajput Army

Infantry : Till the eighteenth century, infantry was an important part of Rajput Army. Previously, the infantry used bows, arrows and swords but now they began to use guns. The gunmen were called 'Bandukchi.' The infantry was mainly constituted of the Nagas, Sanyasis, Arabians, Rohilas, Eastern Rajputs, etc. In this century the infantry was losing its importance because a powerful cavalry was the need to check the forces of the Marathas.[24]

Cavalry : Due to the intermixing of the Mughals with the Rajputs, the cavalry became important and was developed to a considerable extent. The Rajput rider was paid according to the category of horse which he rode. 'Kalra' rider was paid Rs. 25 p.m.[25], 'Tazi' Rs. 16 p.m., 'Rashmi' Rs. 14, 'Padir' Rs. 13 and 'Jangli' rider was paid Rs. 10 per mensum. The description of Taazi and Jangli is also available in Mughul Mansabdari. The 'Rashmi' horse was called 'Gyarsi'.[26] It was mainly used for demonstrations on festivals and its use in expenditions was very rare. According to 'Tavyachi', an official, it was the duty of the Bakshi to check the quality of the horse. A slight doubt could lead to confiscation of Jagir.[27] In Bikaner state three troops were kept under

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foreign soldiers. Except Jagiri cavalry, about 1000 horsemen were present round the clock in the Jaipur State.[28] In 'Sikar', a small Rajput post, there were 1700 horseman present all the time.[29]

Elephant Corps: From the very beginning elephant corps has been an important part of Rajput army.[30] Being, a symbol of dignity it was also used for riding by Rajput commanders.[31] They were mainly used to break open the doors of the fort but the importance of forts declinded owing to the forts of being impregnated by cannons and gunpowder. Some of the famous commanders of this century *viz.* Ajit Singh, Bakhat Singh, Sawai Jai Singh, Madho Singh, Ishwar Singh, etc. used horses in battles. Then they were used to pull big cannons which were called 'Hathnal.' Elephant corps was used in the battle of 'Jajab' (18 June, 1707), the battle of 'Pandhar' (19 June, 1720) and against Bakht Singh in A.D. 1741 by Jai Singh.

Camel Risala (Corps): The camel was a very useful instrument in the deserts of Rajasthan. Kautilya, in 'Arthāsastra[32]; has advised to use camels in the battle.[33] In the deserts of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaiselmer, the ardent necessity of camel risala was felts. It is for this reason that Rajput Kings gave great importance to camels. In A.D. 1723 Ajit Singh sent his camel risala to Delhi along with riders and guns. The total number of this risala was 12,000 and every camel was loaded with two guns.[34]

Artillery: In this century every Rajput State maintained artillery according to its financial position. The officials of the artillery were called 'Bakshi topkhana.' Musharrif Topkhana'[35] and 'Topchi Golandaz',[36] Mughal artillery officials like 'Digandaz' and 'Barkandaz' are not available in the accounts of Rajput artillery officials.[37] They were paid in cash. Foreign 'Topchi' were also recruited and were paid more than local soldiers. The rulers of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur[38] had a significant artillery but as compared to the Marathas they were less powerful. Only in Kota, there were one hundred big cannons and 20 battalian, which was trained. By the end of 18th century Jaipur State had 692 cannons.[39] In Tonk there were 6 big and 17 small cannons and in Sikar 1 big and 30 small cannons.[40]

Fort: From the very beginning Rajasthan has been a land of forts. Every state had big or small forts. Though their importance was deteriorating day by day owing to the use of cannons, yet they had their own importance in the Rajput military administration. The Chief administrator of the fort was called 'Kotpal', 'Durgpal' or 'Duroga.' Some of the important officials were 'Tahwaledar Jagharia', stores incharge; 'Hazar Navis' for roll callas; 'Bakshi Janiyat' for payment of salary and 'Neshan Bardar'.[41] The important forts of this time were Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaiselmer, Chittor, Mandalgarh, Kumbhalgarh, Nagaur, Ranthambhor, Jallor ect. Except this every petty Thikanedar also had his 'Garhi' which was quit secure. In this century, the defensive arrangements of these forts were so well that Jayspa Sindhiya, after surrounding Nagpur fort from A.D. 1754 to 55, could not conquer it and at last he lost his life.[42] Even then it cannot be denied that significance of the forts deteriorated to a considerable extent.

Though the Rajput Military system had an influence of the Mughal military system, yet it was different from the latter to some extent. The designation and

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officials were similar to the Mughal military system but their functions were quite different. The Mughal military organization was based on Mansabdari system but it was not the case with Rajput organisation. The Rajput army was based on hereditary Jigirdari system. These two military systems were similar in one aspect; and it was that the Rajput Jagirdar and soldiers were to serve anywhere within or outside the state like Mughul Mansabdars and soldiers. Though the Rajput forces remained engaged in wars during most of the time yet they protected the trade and national highways. During the reign of Vijay Singh of Jodhpur, inspite of several hurdles, the trade and highways were fully protected. The eye witness account of this fact is available in the autobiography, Wakiyat-e-Azifari, of the Mughul Prince Mirza Jawan Bakhat Azfari.[43] The description given by Azfari is trustworthy because Maharaja Vijay Singh and Azfari were good friends and Azfari took refuge in Jodpur state during his rainy days.[44]

'Grand Anarchy' was a period of disorder and discontent all over India. The socio-economic condition of the people was disgraceful in this period. The Rajput state continuously had to face insurgency and several invasions on their territory. In spite of all this, the narration given by does not prove that well-secured trade and highways were due to efficient military administration of Jodhpur State? Certainly, the credit goes to the military administration of Jodhpur State which was able to protect its trade and highways under such odd circumstances.[45] The barbarious expenditions of the Marathas during Grand Anarchy shattered the economy of Jaipur State.[46] Except this they had to face incessant revolts of their Jagirdars. In this period of discontented Jaipur State and in particular Jaipur city had a sound economy. The travel accounts of Jaipur given by Azfari regarding Jaipur shopping centers' buildings, gardens etc., confirms the fact that security was maintained by Rajput forces for which they fought several successful and unsuccessful wars with the Marathas.[47] The French traveller J. Pellet, (June 1794), has said that the economy of Jaipur state was shattered by the Marathas. The land was much fertile but trade and cultivation had been ruined by the Marathas.[48] Similar facts are available regarding Mewar, Kota and Bundi states in Archival documents.[49] Hence it can be said that Rajput military adminstration was effective according to its capacity. The economy of the Rajput States was hurt due to internal disorders and the use of sub-standard fire arms. It is noteworthy that during this period nowhere in India the armed forces were of European standard. That is why the Marathas had to surrender themselves before the English. In Grand Anarchy, we find social dissentions in various states but Rajput military adminstration maintained its socio-religious unity. Soldiers from every section of the society were recruited in the army provided they were capable and had militant aptitude.[50] All were considered to be equal in respect of social status, religion or language.[51] This was the most significant aspect of the contemporary military administration of the Rajputs. Numerous documents supporting this fact are available in Archives.[52]

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32

Resistance to British Power in Kerala in the Pre-Mutiny Period of Indian History

T. P. SANKARANKUTTY NAIR

Half a century before the first war of Indian independence (1857) two Keralites, Kerala Varma Pazhassi, Raja of Kottayam in North Malabar and Velayudhan Chempakaraman Tampi popularly known as Velu Tampi, Devan of the princely State of Travancore rose in revolt against the British. It must be noted that the period between Versailles and Waterloo was a period of political commotions in the whole of the Orient. Generally local grievances take a political complexion where foreign rule exist. The idea of domination is inherent in alien rule. When the foreign government tries its suppression, such revolts, secure public attention and eventually become the means of casting away the foreign element from the body politic. Despite the fact that the revolts in Kerala did not produce the desired effect of overthrowing the British flag from the West Coast of India, it weakened the strong foundations of British empire in India.[1]

There are very few researchers who did not attempt to interpret the nature and outcome of these revolts. But some of them erred in their judgment of facts. The English historians like James Mill, Wilson, C.M. Agur, G.R. Gleig, William Logan etc. wanted to justify English acts behind the iron curtain of the white man's burden[2] and naturally, they belittled the havoc wrought on the English East India Company by the revolts during the first decade of the 19th century. At the same time some of the native historians like P. Shungoonny Menon, T.K. Velu Pillai, C. Achutha Menon (not the former Chief Minister of Kerala), K.M. Panikker, Soornattu Kunjan Pillai and V.R. Parameswaran Pillai over emphasise the part played by Pazhassi Raja and Velu Tampi,[3] Dr. S.B. Chaudhuri,[4] Prof. A. Sreedhara Menon[5] and Dr. T.K. Ravindran[6] studied these revolts dispassionately. Though Dr. S.N. Sen presented a paper on Velu Tampi's revolt to the 19th I.H.R.C. Session some of the valuable documents of the Tamilnadu Archives and National Archives of India escaped his attention. Dr. Rajayyan[7] through his book or papers studied these revolts, but in his attempt to make Maradu Pandyan the hero of South India, he minimised the actual services rendered by these heroes of Travancore and Malabar. The present paper is an impartial attempt to interpret the revolts of Velu Tampi Dalava and Pazhassi Raja in the light of the

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records available in Tamilnadu Archives and National Archives of India. Unfortunately Kerala State Archives has very few documents dealing with this tragic decade in Kerala History (1799-1809).

In the latter half of the 18th century the chief and often exclusive concern of British statesmen was the maintenance of British supremacy in the East. Kerala Varma Pazhassi of Kottayam was one of the valiant heroes of Malabar determined to liquidate British power.[8] When Haidar Ali invaded Malabar, he, unlike the other Rajas remained in the country and carried on a running fight with the Mysoreans in Malabar. The arrival of Tipu Sultan in Malabar compelled the English to seek the help of the native chiefs. Thus in 1790 Pazhassi Raja in his capacity as an independent Chief of Malabar signed agreements with the British for mutual co-operation for bringing about the collapse of the Mysore forces. Once Tipu was defeated and the Joint Commissioners were appointed after the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, the Company authorites hesitated to regard Kerala Verma as the Raja of Kottayam and signed agreements with the Raja of Karumbranad handing over to the latter the charge of revenue collection in Kottayam.[9] This double standard of the English was an eye opener for the Raja of Pazhassi and he raised the standard of revolt in 1793.[10] The mistaken revenue policy of the English actually precipitated the catastrophe. The general discontentment of the natives as a result of the English interference in the minutest details of the people opened hostilities between the British and the Raja of Pazhassi.

A brilliant strategist Kerala Varma assembled his followers in his strongholds and resisted the collection of taxes by the Company officials. British troops were stationed at Kottayam to protect the tax gatherers and their efforts to arrest Pazhassi failed as he, with his family and supporters escaped to the Wynad jungles in April 1795. The British Commissioners through a proclamation dated 18th December 1795 forbade people from assisting the rebel Pazhassi troops. The escape made by Pazhassi party to the impenetrable, tractless forests of Wynad proved a safer shelter for them where they were able to secure the wholehearted support of the aboriginal tribes of the area namely the Kurichyars and Kurumbars who acted as the guerilla squads of Pazhassi Raja. Not only that, Pazhassi even made an abortive attempt to secure help from Tipu Sultan. As a result of a series of pitched battles, the English authorities negotiated peace by July 1797. The legal right of Pazhassi to collect taxes was accepted by Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay who made a compromise.[11] However this truce was practically a period for further preparations.

The wider character of a combination of France with Mysore and other contumacious chiefs of India against the British compelled them to settle the issue with Pazhassi Raja for the time being. The Earl of Mornington correctly estimated that the British possessions on the coast of Malabar would not be safe so long as the tribe of Pazhassi be reduced to unconditional surrender.[12] By the partition treaty of 1799, Wynad was ceded to the English. But Kerala Varma claimed the district and resisted all attempts at British occupation of it by employing the Nairs, and the Moplahs. In 1800 Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the forces

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in Malabar, Mysore and South Canara. Wellesley in many of his dispatches gave expression to the military superiority of Kerala Varma. In his despatch to Col. Sartorious dated 18th September, 1800, he wrote "The most difficult problem facing us is the question of resisting Pazhassi Raja. If he is defeated everything will be quiet."[13]

The epic resistance of Kerala Varma began during the monsoon of June 1800. On 20th April, 1801, Col. Stevenson issued a proclamation addressed to the people of Malabar and Kottayam in particular to disassociate themselves from the hold of the rebels led by Pazhassi Raja. He warned, "any person supporting or assisting or otherwise holding correspondence with the rebel parties shall be considered as traitors and liable for severe punishment."[14] By July 1801 hostilities resumed with more vigour that the English made an effort to disperse the rebels. Emen Nair, one of the leaders of Pazhassi group changed his side in favour of the British, because of British manipulations.[15]

The English also succeeded in executing other powerful leaders like Chathappan Nambiar, Kannavath Sankaran Nambiar, Choyen Chandu etc.[16] These events disheartened Pazhassi group. Later many of the important places of Wynad fell into the hands of the British. Major Macleod, the new Collector of Malabar by his injudicious policies like disarming the district, enhancement of land revenue by 20% fanned into flame the dying embers of revolt.[17] Early in 1804 T.H. Baber took charge of the situation and he issued a proclamation on the 16th June, 1805, offering 8000 Pagodas for the apprehension of the six proscribed rebels including Pazhassi Raja.[18]

On 30th November, 1805, an encounter culminated in a pitched battle that lasted for over 15 hours on the bank of the river Kagnara, very near the Mysore border. This severe clash ended in the martyrdom of Kerala Varma Pazhassi who committed suicide by swallowing his diamond ring. His dead body was taken in a palanquin and burried at Mananthoddy with customary honours on the consideration that he was one of the natural chieftains of the country and might be considered on that account rather than as a fallen enemy.[19] Again, as Collector Baber wrote "In all classes I observed a decided interest in Pazhassi Raja towards whom the inhabitants entertained a regard and respect bordering on veneration, which not even death can efface."[20] In fact Pazhassi Raja symbolised the resolve of the people to be free and sacrificed his life in defence of it[21] though we could not say the extent to which he was inspired at first by modern sentiments of nationalism. Kerala Varma, who lives in the memory of the people of Kerala as the lion of Kerala is one of the earliest fighters for freedom in India. His target was of course not India's independence but independence for his own rightful Kingdom.

Velu Tampi's Rebellion (1809)

Like Pazhassi Raja, Velu Tampi Dalava was also a fearless fighter and was a patriot first and foremost and no wonder Subash Chandra Bose characterised him as the hero of South India.[22] Having started his career as a Tahsildar during the reign of Dharma Raja (1758-98) Velu Tampi became a known figure even before his 25th

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birthday for having led a popular upsurge to eliminate a palace coterie controlled by a fortune hunter named Jayanthan Sankaran Namboodiri.[23] In 1801 he was appointed the Dewan of Travancore and continued in that post until his martyrdom in 1809 during which period he proved his mettle as an administrator of conspicuous ability.

Lord Wellesly who arrived in India as Governor General (1798-1805) was determined to extend British territories and influence all over India.[24] As part of this policy he directed the British Resident in Travancore Col. Colin Macaulay to bring obout a revision of the treaty signed with Travancore on the 17th November, 1795 because this treaty did not contain any clause enabling the Company to interfere in the internal administration of Travancore.[25] The Maharaja Bala Ram Varma (1798-1810) had opposed the revision of treaty tooth and nail but it was forced upon him by the threat of military invasion by Gen. Mac Dowall, who was stationing his forces in the frontiers of Travancore.[26] Velu Tampi had agreed to it only because he had realised that when, almost all important states in India had accepted the subsidiary alliance of Wellesley it would be useless to plead for equality with the English in India. Accordingly the treaty of 1795 was revised on the 12th January 1805 which made Travancore completely subservient to the Company in foreign affairs and crippled her freedom even in internal affairs.[27] The friendly advices of the British Resident soon became the imperative commands of the paramount power. Some scholars had put the whole blame on Velu Tampi for concluding this treaty in 1805.[28] The political, military and financial conditions necessitated the conclusion of the treaty at that time; otherwise this princely state might have been annexed to the British empire in India. It was this treaty that compelled the patriotic elements of Travancore to resist the growing power of the British. Velu Tampi found an ally in Paliyat Raman Govindan Achen, the Chief Minister of Cochin State because the latter was actually waiting for an opportunity to strike hard at the increasing power of the British. Cochin's territorial claims were set aside by the Joint Commissioners in 1793.[29] The subsidiary treaty and the high handedness of Resident Macaulay made Cochin an inveterate enemy of the British.[30]

Velu Tampi and Paliyat Achen drew up a common plan of action to over throw the British regime. Both the Dewans decided to arm and train new recruits from the Nayars and Tiyars of Travancore and Cochin.[31] Velu Tampi ordered a section of the population of every disirict to train themselves in the use of bows and arrows. It had been ascertained that communications had taken place between Velu Tampi and some Americans who had arrived recently from Persia.[32] It was also reported that a French force would land on the coast of Malabar in January 1809.[33] The Dewan of Travancore also started negotiations with the native chiefs of Malabar.[34] He appealed to the Zamorin of Calicut "to rise and act unanimously with one mind so that there will be no need for continuing our allegiance to the Europeans."[35] According to Col Daly the Commander of the Carnatic Brigade, Velu Tampi hoped to bring about an anti-British alliance of the principal Malabar states with the French, the Marathas and the Americans.[36]

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Velu Tampi set up his headquarters at Kundara and from there he issued a proclamation dated 16th January, 1809, exhorting his countrymen to rally round him to save the country from the clutches of the British imperialists and to redeem the freedom of the state.[37] Thousands flocked to his camp that the army soon became 30000 strong. However he failed to conquer Quilon and later he proceeded to the far southern districts. In Cochin, Paliat Achen's forces also suffered seriously and naturally he surrendered to the British on the 27th of February, 1809.[38] But the undaunted Velu Tampi, inspite of the reverses at Udayagiri, Padmanabhapuram and Nagercoil and the desertion of his allies was determined to fight the British even at the cost of his life. The British governments offered a reward of Rs. 50,000 for the head of Velu Tampi.[39] When he was sure of his capture by the British he plunged his dagger into his bosom which he considered a virtue rather than to give up arms in front of the enemy. The dead body was taken to Trivandrum where it was exposed on a gibbet for public view. Lord Minto the Governor General most strongly condemned this insult offered to the body of such a great man as Velu Tami.[40] Velu Tampi's brother was hanged and the houses of his relatives were razed to the ground and they were transported to Maldives. Velu Tampi died a martyr in the altar of freedom although his ojective was never fulfilled. His indomitable courage, fierce independence and patriotism continued to inspire generations.

The remarks of the then Governor General Lord Minto is a fitting conclusion as to the nature of the Revolt of 1809.[41] He wrote to the Madras Governor thus :

> "The course of the Rajah and that of the Dewan cannot be practically separated. The course of events indeed has sufficiently demonstrated that the Rajah at least acquiesced in the hostile proceedings actively conducted by his Minister. The spirit of hostility on the part of the state of Travancore appears to have been deeply rooted and to have originated not in the pecuniary burden of the subsidy nor in the personal enmity towards the Resident but in a systematic design to shake off its connection formerly courted by itself with the British Government by a hostile confederacy with our European Enemy (France) with other states of India and with our own subjects, a design the success of which necessarily involved the subversion of our power. The great extent of the military preparations, now discovered to have been made by the State of Travancore demonstrates that this project had long been meditated and diligently pursued and the demand for arrears of subsidy perhaps only precipitated the execution of a predetermined plan of extensive treachery and hostile combination."

Hence the Governor General directed to deprive the State Travancore of its arms, ordnance and military and of requiring the disbandment of its military force.[42] He also considered it of much importance to establish and maintain a commanding influence in the Rajah's Durbar.[43] Lord Minto's frank and sincere opinions alone bear testimony to the underlying causes for the revolt of Velu Tampi. His directive to tighten British hold over Travancore very well portray the policy of the imperial power.

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The peculiar political conditions at the opening of the last century could be well understood to assess the role of Pazhassi Raja and Velu Tampi in our national stream. The revolts against foreign rule were particularly strong in South India. There were a large number of resistance movements in this area to throw away the foreign yoke. Revolts of Vizieram Rauze (1794) Dhundia in Bednur (1799-1800) Poligars of Tinnevelly (1801-05) Poligars of North Arcot (1803-05), Mysore Rebellion (1830-31) Parlakimedi Estate Disturbance (1813-34), struggle in Ganjam (1800-05) Vira Pandyan Kattabomman's revolt of Panchalam Kurichi (1797-99) the revolt Maradu Pandyan (1800-1801) etc. were but a few of such anti-British risings.[44] All these revolts streamlined the Indian national movement directly or indirectly. While Kattabomman, Maradu Pandyan and other leaders were taken to the British custody alive, Britishers could secure only the dead bodies of Pazhassi Raja and Velu Tampi. Herein lies a remarkable show of patriotism, determination and courage to be victims at the altar of liberty. Their fight was at such a time when nationalist feeling was not present among the people. According to Mohibul Hassan Tipu Sultan fought in order to preserve his own power and independence although he was more than any other Indian prince conscious of British designs on India.[45] In the case of Pazhassi Raja and Velu Tampi they had innate desire to free themselves from alien rule. When they failed in their mission they became victims for the cause of freedom. Whatever be the ultimate results of these revolts in Kerala, they awakened the masses socially and politically and in this sense they were the earliest agitators for freedom in the pre-mutiny period of Indian history.

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Influence of Indian Thought on the West

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

1. India and the West : Historical Connections

A tangible concrete connection must have existed between India and Western Asia since the days of Indus Civilization, but whether this continued unbroken down to the historical period is difficult to say.[1] The Boghaz Köi inscriptions of the fourteenth century B.C.[2] indicate a very close contact between India and Western Asia, although they do not throw much light on the precise nature and extent of such relationship. The early Indian texts do not reflect anything on the sea-trade between India and the West—despite the Ṛgvedic allusions to sea-voyages[3]—but later traditions, preserved mainly in the Jātakas, refer to sailors going far into the sea, making use of the direction-giving crows (*diśā-kāra*)[4] and to commercial intercourse with the kingdom of Bāveru.[5] However, despite the paucity of evidence, there is no difficulty in assuming that, from remote antiquity, India had trade relations with western countries both by land and sea routes.[6]

The Achaemenian empire included Gāndhāra and Sindhu in the east, and in view of the fact that the Indian soldiers in the army of Kerxes fought on the Greek soil,[7] the conclusion becomes obvious that the tract between the Mediterranean and Arabian seas was quite familiar to the Indians. The invasion of Alexander must have given a unique opportunity to the Greeks as well as to the Indians for a proper understanding of one another. In the days of Seleucus, the Mesopotamian centres of commerce were Babylon, Ctesiphon, Seleucia and Ossis. The main commerce between the early Seleucid empire and India was borne partly by the land route, the northern one passing through Bactria and the southern through Gedrosia, Carmania, Persis and Susania and partly by sea route from Gerrha on the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Also there were various river routes from the Persian Gulf towards southern Turkey through Iraq, Jordan and Syria.[8]

Megasthenes and Daimachus lived in the Mauryan court and it is highly probable that the Mauryan kings also sent similar ambassadors. The missions of Aśoka were at work in distant foreign states. The thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka mentions embassies sent to Antiochus (II) Theos of Syria, Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia, Ptolemy of

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Egypt, Alexander of Epirus or Corinth and Magas of Cyrene. A bilingual inscription of Aśoka written in Greek and Aramaic, another only in Greek, containing the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth Rock Edict, have been discovered near the old city of Kandahar.[9]

The Aśokan inscriptions refer to the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) who built a port at Berenice on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea which became a very important centre for Indian trade.[10] After the conquest of Tyre, the capital city of the Phoenicians, by Alexander, the Great, and foundation of Alexandria, the Egyptians came to the field of trade, and after the successive decline of the Jewish, Phoenician and Persian powers in Western Asia, they retained with the Arabians a monopoly of commerce for about 900 years. Though Egypt was directly accessible by the sea, yet there was no direct trade relation between Egypt and India. Indian and Egyptian merchants used to meet half way, probably at Yemen and Aden, and transhipped one another's goods. Like the Indian route to Egypt streching along the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf was controlled by powerful Arab tribes engaged in trade between the Indian and Egyptian traders, as is mentioned by Agatharicides (second century B.C.) and the *Periplus*.[11]

With the establishment of the powerful Parthian and Sassanid kingdoms, the land-trade between India and the Western countries was seriously affected.[12] The Scythian and Yuch-chi inroads to Bactria also curtailed the facilities of the land routes. This naturally increased the importance of the sea routes, as is revealed in the policy of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of the Christian era. About A.D. 45 Hippalus noted the regularity of the monsoon winds which would enable the ships to sail right across the Indian Ocean.[13] Luxury goods from India were in great demand in Rome. Pliny estimated that nearly half a million sterling Rome had to pay India every year[14] and his view has been substantiated by the discovery of the hordes of Roman coins in different parts of India. Roman trade is reflected in South Indian literature in which there are references to seaport towns like Māmallapuram, Puhār, Karkai, etc., to people loading and unloading the vessels, to the ships with flags on their masts and so on.[15] According to Sewell, Roman merchants used to reside at Madura and in other parts of southern India,[16] while Hultzsch thought that actually there was a Roman settlement and mint a Madura.[17] There are also specific references to Indian embassies visiting the Roman kings.[18] The presence of Indians in Alexandria is noted by Chrysostom and Ptolemy.[19] Indian trade with Roman empire, however, declined after the fourth century A.D.

Between the fourth and eighth centuries A.D. India had a good trade relation with the countries of Western Asia, especially with Persia and Arabia. According to Ṭabari, a king of India, probably the Cālukyan Pulakeśin II, sent an embassy to the Persian king, Khusru II. We learn from Arab literature that Daba in Oman was a major port where traders from India used to assemble. Aden was another centre, while Ubulla near Basra was known as the Gateway of India. From the eighth century onwards, a very close contact developed between India and the Muslim world. Several Indian embassies

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went to Baghdad, and these missions included a number of Indian scholars.[20] Ministers of the Barmak family, who were powerful during the Caliphate of Harun Al-Rashid, did their best to popularise Indian sciences in the Arab world. The Arab merchants visited India in increasingly large numbers, and many of them wrote interesting accounts of India.

Thus we find that India's contact with the outside world, especially with the West, was established since proto-historic times and developed through successive ages. Trade and maritime enterprises marked the beginning of this contact which was further strengthened by cultural relations. The effects of the intercourse between India and the Western countries were of course reciprocal. Unlike South East Asia, where we find a simple expansion of Indian civilization, the Western countries actually did contribute a lot to the growth of Indian ideas and institutions. But here we have little scope of discussion as regards the Westeren influences. With these few words we may now turn our attention to the main theme of the present paper and propose to deal with the influences exerted by India in different domains under separate sub-headings.

2. *Mathematics and Astronomy*

About 154 A.H. (A.D. 771) an Indian traveller, who came to Baghdad as a member of the political mission, introduced a treatise on astronomy which was translated by Md. ibn-Ibrahim al-Fazāri.[21] This is mentioned by Al-Bīrūni[22] who also refers to another embassy to Baghdad led by a'well known Hindu scholar' who communicated to Ya'kub ibn Tārik the Hindu traditions regarding the distances of stars.[23] These Hindu scholars brought such works on mathematics as the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhāṇta* and the *Kuaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, and it was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. The famous al-Khwārizmi (A.D. 850) based his widely known astronomical tables (*zīj*) on al-Fazāri's translation mentioned above. Al-Khwārizmi was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called *Hindi*, indicating their Indian origin. His work on Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin (*de numero indico*) which has survived while the Arabic original has been lost.[24] Mahāvīra in his *Gaṇitasamgraha* and also other Indian scholars like Āryabhaṭa II and Śrīdhara dealt with operations using zero and the summation of n terms of a Geometrical Progression. These were borrowed by the Arabs, and John the Seville and Abraham Ibn Ezra utilised them from Arabic system. Other mathematical ideas, including the Śulva theorem, solutions to indeterminate equations as found by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II and the introduction of sine and cosine functions in trigonometry, were of Indian origin which went to Europe through Arabia. "Brahmagupta knew the theory of non-recurring continued fraction and gave the general solution in integers of the indeterminate equations of the first degree in almost the same form in which we find it now in modern standard text books on algebra. He also dealt with the famous indeterminate equation of the second degree $Ny+1=x^2$ which engaged the attention of the Greeks and the later Indians. One of his results on indeterminate equations was rediscovered a thousand years later by Euler (A.D. 1707-1783) after spending much

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thought and labour on the theorem which he called a remarkable theorem."[25] Likewise Bhāskara's cyclic method of solving the indeterminate equations is one of the greatest contributions to the science of mathematics. Muhammad ibn-i-Jubair al-Battani studied the Indian use of ratios and introduced it among the Arabs. The *Āryabhaṭīya* of Āryabhaṭa I, composed in four sections, one on mathematics and others on astronomy, was translated into Latin by an Italian mathematician in the thirteenth century A.D.

Al-Bīrūni's *Qanunal-Mas'udi* was largely based upon Indian astronomical ideas. Besides, he translated the *Sūryasiddhānta*. The Arabic division of the ecliptic into twenty-eight parts was evidently borrowed from the Indians.[26] As has been stated above, al-Khwarizmi made an abridgement and translation of *Brahma-sphutasiddhānta* (popularly known as *Sind-Hind* in Arab) of Brahmagupta. Subsequently, Ya'kūb bin Tārik incorporated in his *Tārikh-al-Aflāk* principles of Indian astronomy. It should be mentioned in this connection that ancient Indian astronomy was influenced by western ideas. Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* has dealt with five *siddhāntas—Saura, Vāsiṣṭa, Pauliśa, Romaka* and *Paitāmaha*. Of these, *Pauliśa* and *Romaka* were evidently foreign, but accepted by the Indian authorities. However, Indian astronomy, which is a synthesis of West and East, exerted great influence upon the astronomical thinking of the Arabs. Indian conceptions of lunar-zodiac, cosmic cycles, libratory motion, equinoctial and solstitial points, estimation of the precession of equinoxes, etc. were strikingly original and these had become basis of modern astronomy. Laplace, the French astronomer correctly remarked : "Nevertheless, the ancient reputation of the Indians does not permit us to doubt that they have always cultivated astronomy, and the remarkable exactness of the mean motions which they assign to the sun and the moon necessarily required very ancient observations."[27]

3. Medical Science

The Greek and the Indian medical theories are strikingly similar. The idea of breath, *pneuma*, in Greek and *prāṇa* in Sanskrti, as the sources and producer of all movements and changes, is emphasised in the treatises of Hippocrates as well as in the classical Āyurvedic texts. Something similar to the Āyurvedic conception of *tridoṣa* or *tridhātu* is found in Plato's *Timaeus*. We have also references in the Hippocratic collection to the borrowing of some Indian drugs and Indian medical formulas in Greece. We have seen that the Greeks and the Indians were connected politically and culturally. After the conquests of Alexander the Greek Asian countries became neighbours of India. Even before the days of Alexander, during the period of Persian domination on Greek Asian countries and on a part of India, scientific intercourses were quite possible. Filliozat says : "India may very well have influenced the Hippocratic Collection and *Timaeus* particularly, since Plato failed to mention his sources and since, moreover, his doctrine is closer to the Indian than to that of any contemporary Greek school. The influence of Indian ideas on certain aspects of Greek medicine during Plato's time is further supported by the mention of Indian medicaments, including pepper, in the *Diseases of Women*, part of the Hippocratic Collection.

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Indian medical knowledge must have seeped through the Parthian empire, then the overlord of parts of India and Greece alike, along the trade routes described by Strabo and Pliny."[28] Indian medical science also made its way to Rome. Indian herbals were one of the principal imports of Rome. Lithotomy, which was one of the outstanding feats of ancient Indian surgery,[29] was praised as a typical Indian practice followed by other nations by the Roman Celsus in his compendium. Galen of Pergamum, who belonged to the second century, openly admitted that the Roman physicians administered Indian drugs to their patients.[30]

As we have stated above, a number of standard Hindu treatises on medicine, astronomy and mathematics were translated into Arabic by the order of the Abbasid Caliphs. Harun-al-Rashid established a translation-bureau (*baitul hikmat*) where learned scholars were employed for rendering books on scientific subjects into Arabic. Among the translators were two well known Indian scholars, namely, Mankh and Ibn-i-Dahan (Dhan or Dobān). Khalid, the minister of the Caliph al-Mansur, was the son of the chief priest, Barmak by name, of a Buddhist monastery in Balkh, and although he was converted to Islamism, he took great care to get Sanskrit medical, pharmacological and toxicological texts translated into Arabic. The medical texts included such famous works as the *Caraka*, the *Suśruta*, the *Nidāna* and the *Aṣṭāṅga* (of Vāgbhaṭa). The *Caraka* was translated by Abdullah, the son of Ali, while the name of the translator of the *Suśruta* was Mankh (Māṇikya or Mānika) in Arabic, referred to above, who cured Harun-al-Rashid of a severe illness and was appointed by the grateful Caliph the head of the royal hospital. Among other Indian visitors to Abbasid Baghdad reference should be made to Sabeh, son of Bahlah, a physician who cured Ibrahim, cousin of the Caliph; the aforesaid Dhan who was employed in the Barmakiah hospital of Baghdad and was a translator of Indian sciences into Arabic; Shanuk (Cāṇakya) who was the author of a number of treatises on poison, astrology and astronomy, morals and veterinary science; and Kan-kah who wrote four books on 'age', 'secret of birth', 'cycles of the year' and 'beginning of the year'.[31] Al-Razi or Rhazes of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. incorporated Indian medical science in his *Kitab al-hawi* known to medieval Europe as *Liber continess* through the Latin translation by Moses Farachi.[32]

4. Physical and Chemical Sciences

In the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*[33] the common characteristics of the forms of matter constituting the physical world are described. Of the various properties of the forms of matter, the most important seems to be the inherent causality. By nature water is liquid and earth solid, but under certain conditions they are reduced to *Paramāṇus* or atoms. Earth and water possess motion which generates velocity (*vega*) and the latter, once generated in an object produces a series of motions in succession until the object stops due to gravity (*gurutva*).[34] There are four kind of *Paramāṇus* (atoms) answering to the four great classes of material objects, while the space is excluded from the atomic scheme. The qualities of earthly things, as colour, taste, smell and tangibility, vanish on the destruction of the thing itself but they are always found in their respective

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atoms. The atoms are eternal without origin and docay, but the compounds made of them are non-eternal.[35] This naturally reminds us of the Greek atomic theories formulated by Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus, Lueretius and others. Although in many points there are differences between the Greek and the Indian theories of atomism, the basic approach to the formulation of the conception is same in both the cases. It is possible that the Greeks and the Indians developed the atomic theory quite independently. It is also possible that the Indians borrowed the idea from the Greeks, or the latter from the former. There is also a third possibilty that there were some communications, direct or indirect, between the thinkers of both the countries.

The same argument may also be extended so far as the doctrines of the elements are concerned. The prime component of the universe was water according to Homer; water and earth, according to Hironymus and Hellanicus; water and slime, according to Athenagoras; and water, according to Thales.[36] Heraclitus of Ephesus taught that the primary element was fire. Gradually the number of elements was increased. Likewise, in the *Ṛgveda* it is stated that the waters contained the primordial germ. Instead of five elements of later philosophy, *Ṛgveda* postulates only water as the primordial matter or element from which others gradually evolved. The conception of the primeval waters recurs in the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Upaniṣads have advanced on the Vedic conception of a single element. It is here that we have practically for the first time the doctrine of five elements. Later, this view was shared by all the schools of Indian thought. Even in the Advaita Vedānta we come across the theory of *pañcikaraṇa* according to which the five elements mix in different proportions to produce the *bhūtas*.[37]

Indian metallurgy had won great reputation in the West. Things like the iron pillar of Delhi, made of wrought iron without any sign of rust,[38] bear witness of Indian metallurgical achievements. Articles made of Indian steel was popular in ancient Parsian empire and in Greece, and also in later period in the Roman empire. The sword made of Indian steel was proverbial in Arabic literature.[39] Indian chemistry known as *rasāyana* or *rasavidyā*, was once of universal attraction. The *Rasaśāstra* texts present a variety of alchemical knowledge. The Tantras contain the relics of chemical activities current in India since time immemorial.[40] There are a number of alchemical texts in Tamil language. Reddy has recently published a list of twenty-seven of these manuscripts along with short notes on their contents.[41] Important data concerning Indian medicine, alchemy and chemistry are to be found in these notes. The alchemist Bogar, who had Chinese connections, is said to have visited Arabia and then returned to his country. Some of his Tamil disciples accompanied him to China.[42] Another alchemist, Ramadevar, also visited Arabia. To India probably goes the credit of intoducing mercury in chemical preparations. Poisonous chemicals known as *besh* (Sanskrit *viṣa*) and black salt were imported by Arabs from India. It is quite reasonable to hold that Indian chemical science made its way to the West and had contributed to a great deal to the growth of iatro-chemistry which appeared in Europe in the fifteenth century A.D.

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5. *Philosophy and Cosmology*

Sir Charles Elliot observed that "Indian speculation and the Indian view of life were not uncongenial to the people of Europe and Western Asia."[43] H.C. Rawlinson in his article 'India in European Literature and Thought'[44] has drawn attention to the fact that almost all the theories of religion, philosophy and mathematics, taught by the Pythagoreans, were known to India in the sixth century B.C. He also cites examples from Plato's *Republic* which have a very close bearing on the Indian doctrine of *karma*. The similarity between the Sāṅkhya and the Pythagorean systems had long been recognised and commented on.[45] Parallelisms between some doctrines of the Upaniṣads and those of the Eleatics are sometimes too striking to be ignored. Garbe, who made a detailed analysis of the Indian influence on Greek philosophy,[46] pointed out that some of the fundamental ideas of Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and Epicurus had evidently some bearing on the Indian systems.[47] According to a Greek tradition preserved by Eusebius, Aristoxenus, a disciple of Aristotle, knew the summary of a conversation held between Socrates and an Indian philosopher.[48] Alexander, the Great, was himself interested in Indian philosophy. It is stated that an Indian philosopher named Kalanos went with him from India.[49] In Greece there was demand for Indian philosophers which is proved by a curious request made to Bindusāra by a Greek ruler who was willing to purchase an Indian philosopher along with other with other commodities. Greece was also the land of philosophers, and hence it is reasonable to hold that the similarities in the cases of philosophical speculations were due to mutual borrowings. More about the migrations of the Indian philosophical ideas and the range of their influence we propose to discuss in the section dealing with religon.

Nevertheless, so far as the points of similarities are concerned, we must stress upon certain points. According to the Rhapsodist cosmogny of ancient Greece, we find the idea of the Cosmic Egg from which issued the first Orphic god. The Egyptians believed that Ra, the god of brightness, first appeared as a shining Egg which floated upon the water's breast.[50] Zeller points out that the idea of the Cosmic Egg was borrowed by the Greeks from the Phoenicians.[51] But the idea appears to be originally Indian. The Ṛgvedic conception of Golden Germ or Hiraṇyagarbha emanating from the primeval waters[52] afterwards developed into that of the World Egg of Brahman. According to Homer, Oceanus (personification of Ocean regarded as the prime component of the universe) and Tethys are universal parents, and behind them stands a third entity, the goddess Night.[53] In fact the idea of the universe having arisen out of darkness and chaos is indicated in the *nāsadīya* hymn of the *Ṛgveda*[54] in which the following is stated : In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water. That one which lay in void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour. Desire first arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind. This creative *Kāṁa*, the conception of which is further developed in *Atharvaveda*,[55] corresponds strikingly with the cosmogonic Eros of the Greeks. Almost in the same language of the *Ṛgveda* Hesiod said : From chaos was generated

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Erebos and Black Night, and from Night again were generated Ether and Day whom she brought forth, having conceived from the embrace of Erebos.[56]

According to the later Orphic cosmogony, the first principle was Chronos of time (cf. *Kāla* of the *Atharvaveda*). Next came Aether and Chaos and also the Egg, associated with a principle called Phanes, equivalent to Prajāpati of the Brāhmaṇa literature, that was later devoured by the stronger principle Zeus. Reference has already been made to the early Greek philosophers who sought to explain the universe from a single material first principle. Indian conceptions of Brahman and Māyā, later culminating the Vedānta philosophy, have some similarities with Platonic cosmology. Since God as a purely intelligent principle could have no contact with matter, Plato was obliged to assume for the work of creation some formative principle separate from God himself. According to Platonic cosmogony, God gave the world a body and a soul. On the formless chaotic primary matter God imprinted various mathematical 'forms' and 'numbers' out of which arose the four elements composing the body of the universe. Similarly the world-soul was composed of motion and intelligence, and this was probably to bridge the gulf between the God and the world. The Neo-Platonists who belonged to the last period of Greek thought held that the ultimate source of being was neither matter nor spirit, but a real unity transcending both.[57] All these are well known problems of Indian philosophy. The mutual borrowings of the metaphysical ideas and concepts by by each other were evidently due to the reputation that Indian philosophy had acquired in the Hellenistic schools of Asia Minor and Egypt. The city of Alexandria played a major role in this respect, and it was because of the cosmopolitan spirit pervading there that we find Appolonius and Plotinus looking towards India as the home of wisdom.[58] There is evidence of the existence of Brāhmaṇa philosophers at Alexandria even during the Kuṣāna period.[59]

6. Indian Religions and the West

Some of the Vedic gods were worshipped in Western Asia as early as the fourteenth century B.C. This has convincingly been proved by the Boghaz Köi inscriptions referred to above. In subsequent centuries some forms of Brahmanical religion prevailed in different parts of Western Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the upper Euphrates, to the west of the Lake Van, as early as the second century B.C.[60] The Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 ft. high. It was probably Kṛṣṇa (Gishna) who was worshipped there.

Reference must be made in this connection to the spread of Buddhism in Western Asia, Africa and Europe as early as the days of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) who sent embassies to Antichus II Theos of Syria and Western Asia, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus or Corinth. According to the Ceylonese Chronicle *Mahāvaṁśa*, *Mahārakṣita* preached the gospel of Buddhism in the countries of the Yavanas.[61] Mannder, the Indo-Greek king was converted to Buddhism as his example must have been followed by many. A Parthian prince abdicated the throne and became a Buddhist monk in the second

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century A.D. During the Kuṣāṇa rule Buddhism was carried on far wide. A horde of Kuṣāna gold coins was found at the monastery of Dabra Dammo in Abyssinia.[62] A Brāhmi inscription of the third century A.D. has been discovered in Egypt.[63] These must be regarded as specimens of the spread of Indianism which was a direct consequence of the spread of Buddhism in abroad. Al-Bīrūni says that in former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country upto the frontier of Syria was Buddhist. Archeleos (third century A.D.), the Bishop of Carrha in Mesopotamia, stated that Terebinthus, a disciple of Scythianus, embraced Buddhism.[64] Thus, "for centuries both before and after the beginning of the Christian Era, Eastern (Hindu-Buddhist) philosophical and religious influences flowed through the Middle Eastern screen of peoples and cultures into the Greco-Ghristian civilization."[65]

The influence of Buddhism and other forms of Indian religions upon Western religious systems was by no means insignificant. Eliade has shown that Christian mythology and mysticism were influenced by Indian ideas and that Indian beliefs and practices are referred to in Western literature.[66] "In Plotinus, the procedures preparatory to ecstasy were remarkably *similar* to those of Buddhism and various Brahmaṇic systems."[67] Some striking features of Alexandrian Christianity may be traced to Indian sources. Attempts were also made by some Western authorities to find out similarities between the life and teachings of Buddha and those of Christ. The idea that Buddha was a virgin-born was popular in the West.[68] Several religious leaders in the West took the name of Buddha. Gautama Buddha, under the name of St. Josaphat, is still recognised as a Christian saint. The Apocryphal Gospels also had something to do with the life of Buddha. Rawlinson says that at least two orders of pre-Christian Judaism—the Essenes and the Theraputae—were influenced by Buddhism.[69] The influence is more pronounced upon the doctrines of Mani (known as Manichaeasim) who flourished during the reign of the Sassanian king Shapur I.[70] A Manichaean treatise written in the form of a Buddist *Sūtra* speaks of Mani as the Tathāgata and mentions Buddha and the Bodhisattva. Gnosticism was also deeply influenced by Indian ideas, especially by the philosophical schools of India.

The existence of Brahmaṇical temples in Western Asia, the wide prevalence of Buddhism, the role of orientalism in Hellenic mask in Alexandria, and many other factors contributed a great deal to the growth of Islamic ideas. Wasil Ibn-Ata, the chief exponent of the Mu'tā-zila school, was well acquainted with Buddhist ideas. The Mu'tā-zila school prepared good grounds for the emergence of the Mu'takallamins who wanted to rationalise all the sayings of the *Qurān*, the Pha'lāsifās or Hukāmās who believed in the philosophical solution of the religious problems and the Sufis who were followers of the path of mysticism (*Tasabbuf*). The term Sufism came into existence in the second half of the eighth century. Before that, the *Tasabbuf* was followed by various ascetic sects like the Zuh-hād, the Kkas'as, the Śak-kaun, the Nāśmāk and others, who drew their inscription from the Indian wandering ascetics. An earlier form of such influence is manifested in *Zuhd* or asceticism which was in fact proto-Sufism.[71] "The presence of wandering Indian monks was a factor of practical importance to the

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adherents of Islam as early as the time of Abbasid Caliphate."[72] "The *Aghāni* has preserved for us at least one portrayal of an unmistakable Buddhist view of life and the *Zindiq* monks described by Al-Jahiz were either Indian Sadhus, Buddhist monks, or their imitators."[73] The *Aizudiyā* form of Sufi thought according to which the Supreme Being is manifested in everything (*Hāmā Osat*), the individual soul and the universal soul existing in undifferentiated relation, resembles Śaṅkara's interpretation of the Vedānta, while the *Suhūdivā* school, according to which everything is derived of the Supreme Being (*Hāma Āsosāt*), is akin to Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda. As Titus has rightly pointed out, "here the contribution seems to be made in thought, religious imagery of expression, and pious practices, which came from both Buddhist and Vedantic sources."[74]

7. Literature

In the domain of myths and legends, arising out of various cults and rituals, there were many features common to India and the Western world. The Vedic myths have parallels in the Indo-European speaking areas of Europe which was probably due to their common origin. The flood-legends of the Western Asia, especially the one found in the epic of *Gilgamesh*, have something to do with the same legend described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Purāṇas.[75] Reference should also be made in this connection to the cosmogonic myths,[76] earth and corn myths,[77] matrilocal religion[78] and many other culture-traits.[79] Myths and legends relating to the mysteries of creation, of life and death, to different stages of life from the cradle to the death bed, to the domains of theogony and apotheosis, entered Western Asia from different sources including India and were re-echoed in Rabbinic and Islamic mythology, changed, altered and adapted, so as to suit the spirit of monotheism.

Rabbnic myths, legends and tales have entered Islamic literature and Mohammed and his commentators have largely drawn from the Jewish sources. On the other hand, many legends of the *Talmud* and the *Midrash* are directly or indirectly adopted from Indian sources. As for example, in the *Qurān*[80] we have the cosmographic conception of seven firmaments and seven underworlds, and this reminds us of the same Hebrew conceptions which are quite similar, if not identical, to those of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain speculations.[81] The myth of Shemhazai and Azael, a tale of Jewish origin which in Mohammedan literature is told of Harut and Marut, resembles strikingly to the story of Sunda and Upasunda in the *Mahābhārata*. Of Indian origin may be the story of king Solomon and Asmodeus which was taken over and brought to Europe, where it appeared first in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Of Indian origin may also be the legend of Abraham and Nimrod.

Indian literature, at first translated into Persian, was later translated from Persian into Arabic, the most prominent example of which is *Pañcatantra* which was rendered into Arabic by Ibn-i-Maquffa. A large number of Hindu treatises on medicine, astronomy and mathematics were translated into Arabic by the order of the Abbasid Caliphs. A good number of Buddhist Jātakas were translated into Arabic and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* was edited and modified by the Arab writers. The *Śukasaptati*

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was translated into Persian under the name of *Tutinamah*, and through it many Indian stories found their way to Europe.[82] The famous story of Karkaṭaka and Damanaka was first rendered into Pehlavi in the sixth century, and then into Arabic, Syriac, Latin, Hebrew and Spanish. The most remarkable example is *Barlaam and Josaphat* which is a Christianised version of the Great Renunciation of the Buddha. In the Arab world the story occurs in a book called *Kitab Bilawhar wa Yudasaf*. From Arabic it was rendered into Georgian and then into other European languages including Greek and Latin. Other Indian legends also found their way to Europe and can be traced in such works as the *Gesta Romanorum*, and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparola, Chaucer and La Fontaine. According to Hitti,[83] the basis of the famous *Thousand and one Nights* was a Persian work containing several stories of Indian origin.[84]

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34

A Reappraisal of Samudra Gupta's Digvijaya

M.G.S. NARAYANAN

The chief object of this paper is not to reassess the magnitude of Samudra Gupta's achievement as a conqueror or to refix the boundaries of the Gupta empire. We also do not propose to re-examine disputes regarding the chronological sequence of events or the identification of place names and personal names. Thanks to the patient labours of several scholars in the past, we now possess a fairly clear picture of the geographical extension of Samudra Gupta's imperial influence.[1] Therefore we prefer to analyse the political meaning and scope of his conquests, i.e. to diagnose the character of relationships established by Samudra Gupta with various powers in India, as recorded in the emperor's *praśasti* by his courtier Harishena.

It may also be clarified that the approach adopted here towards the problems posed by the unique record of Samudra Gupta's *digvijaya* is not based on geo-politics which figured prominently in a recent study of the Gupta empire.[2] While geo-political considerations may go some way to explain certain developments in history, they give us only a fixed pattern which fails to distinguish one epoch from another since geographical factors are largely constant while the human factor changes. Therefore such an approach is necessarily inadequate. In the present paper we propose to identify precisely the factors of change exposed by a comparative study of the concepts underlying the Mauryan empire and the Gupta empire.[3] These warrant us to probe the socio-economic implications of the statements found in the Allahabad *praśasti* with a view to suggest a possible correlation between the changes in the political structure and those in the social structure.

In the Allahabad *praśasti* the conqueror's encounter with other powers has been enumerated in separate stages which in effect divides the country into so many political zones. In spite of this it leaves out completely central and western Deccan and the Deep South of Dravidian India.[4] The order followed by Harishena may represent a chronological sequence or geographical rearrangement of expeditions or it may be partly chronological and partly geographical but chiefly based on the type of Samudra Gupta's relations with the states,[5] these relations being determined by various factors like distance from the Gangetic valley, socio-political development of the region, economic

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prospects and the power of the central government to administer the newly acquired provinces. We find in the record a grouping of units in five categories :

1. kings of Dakshināpatha
2. kings of Āryāvarta
3. kings of the forests (Āṭṛavika)
4. kings and peoples of the frontier (Pratyanta) including kings fallen from power.
5. kings and peoples of the islands (Dvīpa)

The different forms of relationship cultivated by the emperor with these groups may be taken up for examination here.

Policy towards "Dakshiṇāpatha" States

The conqueror's rounds are listed beginning with the kings of *Dakshiṇāpatha*. These kings are stated to have been seized, liberated and patronised—an extremely soft move, a special treatment reserved for the vanquished in this part of the country alone.[6] Various explanations have been put forward to account for this curious behaviour which one historian compared to that of a boy catching and releasing butterflies in a playful mood.[7]

Prof. Buddha Prakash has brought out in convincing form the rationable behind this phenomenon with reference to the expanding maritime trade with South East Asia through the Indian settlements already planted and gradually developing there.[8] It may be remembered in this connection that Aśoka Maurya had much trouble in the same *Kalinga* region several hundred years ago. Perhaps the Mauryan emperor's attempt to penetrate Kalinga was the outcome of the realisation of the commercial potential of the province.[9] He was aggressive and vindictive at first in the case of Kalinga, taking recourse to forced evacuation of the people (*apavāhana*) in a determined effort to break the back of resistence, although later on he recognised the value of friendship and peace.[10] There seems to have been a repetition of history on a wider scale in the present case, with the difference, however, that while the Mauryan period witnessed the starting point of South Asia-South East Asia commercial contacts, the same had reached a higher level in the Gupta period. In both cases an imperial power from distant Magadha reached out its hands to the east-coast in its bid to control the prosperous hinterland of the east-coast harbours and the harbours themselves. The Gupta emperor's move was more sophisticated and subtle as we learn from the record that he wanted neither plunder nor tribute, but on the other hand he was ready to confer benefits, i.e., anugriha.[11] As Prof. Buddha Prakash rightly suggested, his idea could have been to win sufficient friendliness to keep open the channel for the smooth flow of trade and migration between his home territory in *Āryāvarta* and the far off lands in South East Asia.[12] His interest in a safe passage for merchants from *Magadha* is understandable. Along with this may be added the suggestion that perhaps the Gupta state, unlike its Mauryan predecessor, could not think of achieving its objective through direct conquest because its military-political apparatus was not strong enough to embark on such a project outside *Ārayāvarta*.

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An interesting feature is highlighted by this instruction into the east coast of peninsular India by a Maghadhan imperial power. It may be described as the conspicuous "Āryanisation" of this area during the post-Maurya pre-Gupta times.[13] This is demonstrated in the present record by the names of rulers enumerated. One of these names i.e., *Vyāghra Rāja* of *Mahākāntara* which literally means Tiger King of the Great Forest, is evidently the Sanskritised form of a forest chieftain's clannish title or personal name. The rest of them sound like genuine Sanskritic names—*Mahēndra*, *Swāmi*, *Vishṇu*, *Nīla*, *Hasti*, *Ugra*, *Kubēra* and *Dhanañjaya*. These names could even claim a puranic lineage. Some of them possess the Sanskritic suffixes like *Varma*, *Giri*, *Datta*, *Gōpa* and *Sēna*. The place names *Avamukta* and *Daivarāshṭra* may should like Sanskrit but they are identified respectively and the name-ending of 'pura' found in two cases—*Pishṭāpura* and *Kusthalāpura*—could have been added as a matter of convenience.[14] In this context, the "Āryanisation" and the development it suggests are in constradistinction with the condition of *Kalinga*, a people under nameless leaders, in the period of the Mauryan empire.[15]

Thus there are three factors which appear to have influenced the Gupta behaviour pattern in this part of Dakshiṇāpatha:—(a) the progress of South East Asian trade and commerce, (b) the relative powerlessness of the Gupta state machinery when compared to that of the Mauryan empire and (c) the Āryanisation or Sanskritisation suggestive of social and economic development of South India. Any assessment of the role and proportionate strength of each of these factors will depend on the availability of more evidence.

Again, the term *Dakshiṇāpatha* itself is employed by Samudra Gupta's minister not in the sense of Southern Country, i.e. Deccan or South India, as the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II, Bāṇa the Court poet of Harsha and Rājaśekhara of the 10th century have done. It follows the earlier Kauṭilyan sense of the southern route as opposed to the northern route i.e., Dakshināpatha, as against Āryāvarta or Haimavata.[16] Thus it starts from the south bank of Ganga, just south of Pāṭiliputra. This view is reflected in *Brihat samhita* also where *Chitrakūta* is placed in *Dakshiṇāpath.*[17]

Policy in Āryāvarta and Forest Areas

The next group is that of the kings of *Āryāvarta* of whom nine are mentioned by name.[18] These are kings with Sanskritic names like *Rudra*, *Matila*(?), *Nāga*, *Candra*, *Gaṇapati*, *Nāga*, *Achyuta*, *Nandi* and *Bala*. Their names end with familiar Sanskrit suffixes like *Dēva*, *Datta*, *Nāga* and *Varma*. The territories which belonged to them are not separately mentioned except that all of them were kings of *Āryāvarta*. Contrary to the mild and apparently noble policy of enlightened self-interest adopted towards the southern rulers, the emperor is stated to have increased his *Prabhava* i.e., financial and military capacity, to a great extent by the violent uprooting (prasabhōddharaṇa) of these princes.[19] This naturally means that they were dethroned and their kingdoms annexed. It has been pointed out that the obscure parts in the opening lines of the *praśasti* mention separately the battles fought against some of these princes.[20]

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There follows a general statement about the forest kings (*āṭavika rāja*) who were all reduced to servitude.[21] This would again refer to the process of firm subjugation through military conquest. Most probably the forest areas, where no complex administrative machinery prevailed, existed in pockets within *Āryāvarta* or in the adjoining territories on the slopes of the Himalayan and Vindhyan ranges.[22] Evidently they did not offer any serious resistence and that is why they are simply dismissed in a single phrase. The real difference in the treatment of the two sets of rulers of *Āryāvarta* belonging to the relatively advanced kingdoms and the undeveloped forest territories lies in the fact that there was no problem of organising an administration for the forests which were left undisturbed apart from the fact that the tribal chiefs were made to render service. They must have been useful in military movements and espionage. Their hill products also might have been valuable. Nevertheless, here we have no more details regarding these people who remained outside the pale of civilization and culture.[23]

Policy towards Pratyanta States

Perhaps the most significant imperial achievement of Samudra Gupta was neither his victorious and spectacular expedition to South India nor his conquest and subordination of some kingdoms and forest areas of North India, but the organisation of a large network of vassal kings on the north and east and west and north-west frontiers of his empire.[24] That the Gupta empire was much smaller than the old Maurayan empire even in the north-western direction is clearly illustrated by the use of the term 'pratyanta' or frontier in the two periods. In the Allahabad *praśasti* it is used to denote some territories of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Sind which were actually well within the frontiers mentioned by Aśoka for whom the empire stretched up to Gandhara.[25]

We observe that the *Pratyantas* on the north and north-east are named as kings while those in the north-west and west are spoken of in the plural as peoples. The attitude of Samudra Gupta to *pratyanta* rulers may be described as diametrically opposed to that of Aśoka. From a position of strength the Mauryan emperor took all measures to reassure the frontier kings and peoples with his policy of friendship and promise of assistance in building roads and organising medical services.[26] He did not look upon them as a source of revenue for the empire. On the other hand the Gupta monarch is claimed by his courtier as harsh in command (pracaṇḍa śāsana) waiting to be propitiated by the surrender of all revenue (sarva kara dāna), obedience to orders (ājñākaraṇa) and the offer of homage (praṇāmāgamana).[27] Thus he wanted to instil fear of punishment in their minds for the purpose of extracting revenue in the form of tribute, although he did not take up any responsibility for administration or development there.[28] There is no evidence of direct Gupta rule in those provinces.

The payment of tribute, the nominal acknowledgement of sovereignty and periodical trips to the imperial court to offer homage—these are the three services characteristic of the feudal vassals in medieval European experience. In India there is in this period a new pattern of political relationship not encountered in the case of the Mauryan or Kuśān empire.[29] The very concept of such a network of feudal vassalage indicates the evolution of the feudal type of monarchy where the centre is relatively weak, in spite of

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appearances to the contrary, as a result of the replacement of the bureaucratic machinery based on cash payment by hereditary vassals with a loose and flexible form of relationship with the centre.[30]

Policy towards Dvīpavāsī States

Such an ascendancy of the feudal element within the state is indirectly projected in the passage relating to the non-Indian powers also.[31] They are called *Dvīpavāsīs* whether they are actually island-dwellers or not, in conformity with the crystalizing Hindu tradition of treating as islands all areas of the world outside the main land of *Bhāratavarsha*. Among the friendly acts on the part of these subordinate allies are mentioned the offer of personal allegiance, presentation of maidens and other gifts—all part of the paraphernalia of treaties of friendship in the old world.[32] Significantly enough personal allegiance is called commendation or *ātmanivēdana* and there is an additional request from these rulers for grant marked by the *Garuḍa* emblem (evidently the royal emblem of the Guptas) for the enjoyment of their own territory-*garutmadanka sva svavishaya bhukti śāsana yācana*.[33]

This is new and it gives an entirely strange new dimension to the relationship. It is clear from this that Samudra Gupta envisaged a typical feudatory status for the distant rulers outside the pale of *Āryāvarta* also in the sense that he claimed that the Daivaputra, Shahānushāhi, Śāka-Murundas and Simhaḷas ruled their own territories on the strength of charters issued by the Gupta sovereign. Historians will naturally find it difficult to check the veracity of this claim in the absence of documentary evidence from the other side or independent corroborative evidence. However, we are not so much concerned here with the extent of realisation of the claim as with the conceptual framework which reflects the political thinking and aspirations of the Gupta empire. As such the statement of Samudra Gupta's *Mahādaṇḍa Nāyaka* must be given full credence.

This reference to the system of the sovereign ruler granting characters to the hereditary kings or chieftains authorising them to govern their own territories in his name indicates a stage of evolution in political relationships connoting feudal vassalage.[34] The amount of actual control exercised by the soverign even after the grant of charters may be dubious, even quite nominal, but the concept is important as it illustrates a vital aspect of the feudal contract. Samudra Gupta seems to have placed in one category those feudatories in *Āryāvarta* who offered regular tribute, political submission and homage. He put in another category the other set of feudatories in distant leads who offered allegiance occasional presents of maids and other items and also received charters of rights from the sovereign. This is how they are differentiated in their status, marking the different degress of dependence.[35]

Thus the behaviour of *Pratyanta* rulers and *Dvīpa* rulers as described in the *praśasti* would imply substantial changes in the form and quality of political relations in India between the Mauryan age and the Gupta age. A clear differentiation is possible between the two periods in the concept of empire.

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Weak Centre and Uneven Development of Areas

Leaving the order of statement followed in the *praśasti*, we may now record the grades of authority possessed by the emperor Samudra Gupta in the different political zones :

(a) The home area in Magadha where the Guptas had established control even earlier through their *Kichchhāvi* alliance.

(b) The neighbouring areas in *Āryāvarta* where the emperor Samudra Gupta established his direct authority through the use of military force.

(c) The remote areas in *Āryāvarta* and the fringes of *Āryāvarta* forming a circle around their territory of direct rule. Here the monarch was claiming regular tribute, complete obedience and trips to pay homage.

(d) The remote areas outside *Āryāvarta*, the island countries forming an outer circle where the emperor established his authority by claiming acts of commendation, occasional gifts and contractual dependence.

(e) The special areas outside *Āryāvarta*, like parts of *Dakshiṇāpatha*, where the emperor made a demonstration of his military power followed by a policy of conciliation.

To these were added later, in the time of Chandra Gupta II, a friendly alliance on a footing of near-equality with the *Vakāṭakas* of *Dakshiṇāpatha*.[36] This variety of forms or relationship must be seen as closely related to the weakness of Central Goverment which could not undertake the direct supervision of large territories. The uneven character of socio-economic and political development in different parts of the country was another important aspect of the situation. The Allahabad *praśasti* flashes a powerful beam of light across the entire subcontinent revealing at one glance this unevenness of growth in which an imperial state in Magadha co-existed with regional hereditary monarchies in the east and south, regional republican oligarchies in the west and north-west, new kingdoms and nomadic tribal groups on the north and north-west borders of India and a good number of forest tribes everywhere. At one end of the scale is the highly advanced; Sanskritised, society and polity of the Guptas and at the other end we find the forest and mountain tribes, old and new, groping their way towards the formation of a territorial state.

The political challenge which the Guptas were forced to take up as the most powerful monarchs was the consolidation of such diversified and unequal units. Their political wisdom lay perhaps in recognising, developing, adopting and legitimising a new feudal set up of relationship in imperial organization. This factor had not received adequate attention from early historians. For instance, R.K. Mookerji who took up a detailed discussion of the *praśasti*, blankly concludes : "Samudra Gupta made a clean sweep of all the petty kingdoms of Āryāvarta the whole of which was now brought under his authority as its paramount sovereign. The political unification of Āryāvarta which was split up into so many small states was one of the great achievements of Samudra Gupta who thus built up the Gupta empire."[37] In other places he speaks about "peaceful neighbourliness," "paramount sovereignty," "an international system

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of brotherhood and peace replacing that of violence", a "new order of peaceful partnership etc."[38] The new order was not of peace and brotherhood or partnership but the key to its character was that of subordination of other powers to the Gupta power. The speciality of this *praśasti* lies in the fact that it brings out the complex network involving various grades of subordination.

Prof. D.D. Kosambi was able to appreciate the fact that the form of imperial power exhibited in the Gupta period was new. He says : "The contrast between the Mauryan and Gupta empires is neatly pointed out by the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Asokan pillar at the Allahabad fort."[39] He adds :

"Thereafter the chief glory of a king would be to proclaim that he had reduced neighbouring rulers by force of arms, to a tributary status."[40]

Though the change in form is noticed this brilliant observation is marred by the failure to comprehend the fact that the new things in Gupta proclamations were not forceful conquest and tributary status which were at least as old as the days of Alexander and Chandra Gupta Maurya. The new factors were twofold :

(a) The standardised forms of ritual involved in vassalage like *praṇāmāgamana* (trips to pay homage) *ātmanivedana* (commendation) *svavishaya bhukti śāsana yācana* (request for charters cenfirming enjoyment of one's own territory) etc. These have a feudal connotation and consequently they are of special historical importance.

(b) The different grades in vassalage indicated by the different modes of treatment meted out to the subordinate rulers. These reflect the growing weakness of imperial government and uneven progress of several parts of India.

In spite of Prof. Kosambi's great insight and flair for details, which enabled him to detect "feudalism from above" in the Gupta political system he seems to have missed the second aspect also for he failed to differentiate the grades of vassalage, taking for granted that all the subordinate rulers alike had to pay tribute.[41] Prof. R.S. Sharma has mentioned in relation to the Allahabad *Praśasty* items like tribute, obedience to royal orders, gift of daughters in marriage, and homage, with knowledge of their feudal implications, though he seems to have missed the significance of the subtle grades of vassalage, commendation and the charters mentioned there.[42] He rightly called the Gupta Polity "proto-feudal" in character.[43] In this connection we may also take up another point for clarification. Following Prof. Kosambi's epoch-making findings, other scholars like Prof. R.S. Sharma and Prof. D.N. Jha have examined the post-Maurya changes in economy and society in the light of literature, epigraphy and archaeology and brought out the tremendous impact of the land grants beginning with the period of Śātavahana rule.[44] It is now fairly clear that feudal is the formations in economy and society had already become prevalent though not dominant in the period of imperial Gupta rule.[45] In view of this marked shift in chronology predating the vital feudal tendencies in economy in the context of North India the present writer would also place before the scholarly world for consideration the possibility of reversing Prof. Kosambi's order of designating "feudalism from above", i.e. feudal tendencies in the imperial political system, as the first stage and "feudalism from below", i.e. feudal

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tendencies in economy and society, as the next stage.[46] In the present state of our knowledge it would be possible to suggest that the feudal political formations reflected in the Allahabad *praśasti* were posterior to and as such reflecting the changes in economy and society starting with the post-Maurya Sātavahana age.[47]

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   Vincent A. Smith, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1897, pp. 87 ff.
   Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of The Deccan*, Pondichery, 1920, pp. 58 ff;
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   R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 18-30; B. Ch. Chhabra, "The Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 24; 1948. pp. 104-40.
   R.C. Majumdar, *A New History of The Indian People*, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1960, pp. 139 ff.
2. S.R. Goyal, *A History of The Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, pp, 37-9, 132 ff.
3. The Allahabad Praśasti conveys, apart from the facts of conquest Harishena's views of the ideal monarch also. As he was Mahadaṇda Nāyaka, close to his master's court, his views may be reflecting those of the ruling class of the age. They provide an opportunity for comparison with those of Aśoka.
4. Fleet had suggested that Samudra Gupta's triumphant tour of the South included the West coast of Maharashtra and the extreme South as far as Kerala. This view has been rightly abandoned by scholars today.
5. For the geographical order, see Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 299 and Jayaswal, History of India, p. 135.
   For the chronological order, see J. Dubreuil, *Ancient History of The Deccan*, p. 61 and Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 19 ff.
   Goyal rightly criticises both and takes the stand that it is neither geographical nor chronological but based on a political classification of the states in terms of relation to the Gupta empire, *Imperial Guptas*, pp. 197-200.
6. Allahabad Praśasti, L1. 19-20. Vaiṅgēyaka Hastivarma Pālakkōgrasēna—Daivarāshtraka Kubēra—Kausthalapuraka Dhanañjaya sarva daksiṇāpatha rajagrahaṇa mōkṣānugraha janita pratāpōnmiśra mahābhāgyasya".
7. Dubrueil, *Deccan*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-1. Some scholars thought that this treatment was natural in a *digvijaya* for aśwamedha. R.D. Banerji, *Age of The Imperial Guptas*, Benares, 1933, p, 183; B.G. Gokhale, *Samudra Gupta and His Times*, Bombay, 1962, p. 48.
   Others found in the southern expedition a move to put down the Pallava power and warn the Vakatakas. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 186.
   Still others mention the lure of the wealth. Goyal, *Imperial Guptas*, p. 169. The argument of the aśwamedha sacrifice must apply to all the conquests; the Pallavas are not so prominently mentioned: and the lure of wealth will invite plunder which is not referred to in the text here.
8. Buddha Prakash, "Samudra Gupta's Southern Expedition: A New Interpretation", *Prof. K.A.N. Sastri Edicitation Volume*, Madras, 1971, pp. 15-31.
9. Romila Thapar, *Asoka and The Decline of The Mauryas*, Delhi (Second Edition), 1973, pp. 36, 82.
10. Rock Edict No. 13 of Aśoka.
11. The term "anugriha" is wrongly explained by many scholars including Fleet and Buddha Prakash who thought that the emperor won the gratitude of the southern states by liberating them after capture. They took the general meaning of blessing for the term whereas Kautilya uses it in a

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technical sense to mean financial aid given to an ally. See *Arthaśāstra*, Book XIII, Labdha-praśamana.

Similarly, the term "mahabhagya" which occurs in this context means great support in terms of treasury and army from an ally. See *Arthaśāstra*, Book VII and Book XIII.

Taken together they mean that Samudra Gupta gave protection and aid to the southern states in order to secure alliance which in the long run brought him great support in treasury and armed forces.

12. Says Buddha Prakash in *Prof. KAN Sastri Felicitation Volume, Op. cit.*, p. 25.

"In the fourth century the demand of Western and Indian goods in China further enhanced the importance of maritime commerce. As a result the volume of trade between China and South East Asia on the one hand, and between the latter and the ports along the eastern coast of South India and Ceylon which also attracted the trade and Western Asia on the other, greatly increased. Consequently in India the regions along the eastern coast saw a rapid development of shipping and maritime activity which brought immense wealth and influence and thereby gave new turns to the course of history."

13. The term Āryānisation is used here with apology to denote the whole complex of Hindu Brahmanical way of life, not the spread of the Āryan race or language.
14. See No. 6 above.
15. Prof. D.D. Kosambi says: "There is no mention of any king or princes in Kalinga, which must therefore have developed sufficiently out of the tribal stage to support a considerable population, without having any powerful kings or kingship'. See *An Introduction to The Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 196.
16. *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*, Book VII, Chapter 12, Karmasandhi.
17. *Brihat Samhitā* XIV, 13.
18. Allahabad Praśasti, L. 21. Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandra Varma, Gaṇapati Naga, Nagasena, Acyuta, Nandi, Bālavarmadyanekaryavartaraja prasabhodeharanodvritta prabhava magadah."
19. The term "prasabhoddharana" has been rightly understood by most scholars as meaning violent uprooting. However, "prabhava" is usually taken in the general sense of power only. Kautilya employs it in a technical sense to man "possession of a good treasury and army. See *Arthaśāstra*, Book VII. Hinasaktipurana.
20. R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*. pp. 19-20.

Achyuta is identified as the ruler of Ahichchatra, the capital of northern Pāncāla (modern Ramnagar in Bareilly District) and his copper coins bearing the legend "Acyu" are found in that area.

Nagasena is identified as ruler of Padmavati of the Puranas where Naga coins have been discovered. The doom of Nagasena of Nagakula at Padmavati, due to careless talk in front of a sarika is mentioned by Bana in *Harshacarita*.

21. Allahabad Praśasti. L. 21.
"Paricārakikrita sarvāṭavikarājasya".
22. The Āṭavika rāyas are described as vital links in military and political strategy by Kautilya. See *Arthaśāstra*: Book 9. Balopadana. See also Kosambi, *Introduction*, p. 196. Kosambi indulges in much speculation about the process in "Combined Methods of Indology", *Science and Human Progress*, Bombay, 1974 pp. 11-12.
23. The process of interaction between the civilized areas on the one hand and tribal areas which were progressively absorbed or subjugated and exploited and consequently allowed to stagnate must be studied in depth to understand Indian culture, see M.G.S. Narayanan, Presidential Address in Section I. Ancient India. *IHC Proceedings*, 1978.
24. Allahabad Praśasti. L. 1. 22-3. "Samatata, Davāka, Kāmarūpa. Nepāla, Gartripurādi pratyanta nripatibhir Mālava, Arjunāyada, Yaudheya, Mādraka, Ābhīra, Prārjuna, Sanakānika, Kaka, icharaparikadibhisca sarvakaradāna, ājnākarana, pranamagamana paritoshita pracanda śāsanasya, aneka bhrastarajyotsanna rājavaṁśa pratishtā panādbhūta nikhila bhuvana vicarana santa yasasah".

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25. Romila Thapar, *Asoka, op. cit.*, pp. 123, 126, 193.
26. Rock Edict No. 2 and 13 of Asoka.
27. The payment tribute, acknowledgement of suzerainty ond periodical visits to the imperial court to pay homage are common forms of political dependence in premodern times. However, the eleborate organisation of hierarchy with subtle distinctions of grade and prescribed and standardised obligations are characteristic of medieval feudal political structure in Europe and India.
28. This is in clear contrast with the Mauryan practice of Asoka who was eager to undertake responsibilities in pratyanta states also. See R. Thapar, *Asoka*, pp. 130-36.
29. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1959, p. 299.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4.
31. Allahabad Prasasti, L. 1, 23-24.
"Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi Śāka Muruṇḍaih Sainhalādibhiśca sarva dvīpavasibhir ātmanivedana, kanyopāyana, dāna, garudmadanka svavishaya bhukti śāsana yācanādyupāya sevākṛita bahuvīrya prasara dharaṇībandhasya prithivyām apratirathasya."
32. The term "ātmanivedana" was interpreted by Fleet (*Corpus*, III, p. 14) and Majumdar (*A New History of The Indian People*, Vol. VI. Delhi 1960, p. 143) as "offering oneself as sacrifices". Goyal *Imperial Guptas*, p. 131.) rightly translates it as "offering their own persons for service". This is strangely remeniscent of commendation in European feudal practice.
33. This appears to be a voluntary act of submission, a feudal gesture which made a show of surrender while retaining one's independence.
34. While the Mauryan empire may be compared to the Roman empire in Europe, the Gupta empire bears comparison with the Carolingian empire during the period of Charlemague when, according to Perry Anderson, "the central institutions of feudalism were already present, beneath the canopy of a pseudo-Roman centralised empire."
Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism, London, 1974, p. 141.
35. Some states are allies receiving protection and aid from the sovereign as in South India; others are completely annexed as in the case of Āryāvarta; still others in pratyanta borders pay tribute and homage; but those which are far away beyond Āryāvarta offer only a symbolic surrender and occasional gifts as token of allegiance.
36. Smith, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, p. 324.
Majumdar, New History of The Indian People, p. 169.
R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, 1947, p. 46.
37. R.K. Mookerji. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 29.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
39. D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction*, p. 278.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 275. "Feudalism from above means a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories as long as they paid the paramount ruler".
42. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 302-3. "The vassals who evidently lived in the outer fringes of the empire, carried out their obligations in three ways. They offered homage to the sovereign by personal attendance in his court, paid tributes to him, and presented his daughters in marriage. The Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions all these practices but in addition the vassals apparently supplied troops to their overlord, who extended protection to their protages in times of war."
43. *Ibid.*, p. 298.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 303. "The practice (of the grant of fiscal and administrative immunities to priests and temples) started with the Satavahanas in the Deccan". See also details in R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*. Calcutta, 1965, and D.N. Jha, *Revenue System in Post-Mauryan and Gupta Times*, Delhi, 1967.

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45. R.S. Sharma, "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History." *The Indian Historical Review*, September, 1974, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 2. "Notwithstanding the seeming political unity under the Mauryan and the Guptas, there are basic differences between the two ages. The Gupta period witnessed strong feudalization of the state apparatus which is not to be found in Maurya times. The process was set in motion by the practice of making grants of lands to the Brahmanas from the first century A.D. onwards. Although Aśoka's charters are spread all over the country, they do not speak of any land grants. The earliest epigraphic land grants belong to the first century B.C. But these do not transfer administrative power to the beneficiary, which is done for the first time in the grants made to the Buddhist priests by the Satavahana ruler Gautamiputra Satakarni in the second century A.D. The land granted to them is described as apraveśyam (not to be entered by royal troops), anavamarśyam (not to be molested by government officials) and arāstrasamvināyikam (not to be interfered with by the district police)".
"From the middle of the fourth century A.D. such grants in favour of the brahmanas become frequent. Their two significant features are the transfer of all sources of revenue and the surrender of the police and administrative functions".

46. D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction*, p. 275.

47. It may be noted that apart from being in disagreement with known facts today, Kosambi's position was also contrary to his professed Marxist view in which the economic order was basic, the political order being a part of the superstructure. Therefore it goes without saying that Kosambi was taking an un-Marxian position by suggesting that feudalism first developed in the political field and then it appeared in the social and economic fields as a separate phenomenon if not as a consequence.

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Varna, Jati and Technical Occupations in the Dharmasastra

RAJESHWAR PRASAD SINGH

The concepts of *varṇa*, *jāti* and occupation have gone hand in hand in India through the ages. Although as a result of large-scale industrialization and mechanization of production in recent years the traditional association of caste with profession has essentially undergone major changes, most of the castes and sub-castes as a rule still bear their names derived from the occupations their forefathers followed and the crafts they practised.[1] Even though the numerous castes living in the present-day India, especially those known as "functional groups" in modern sociological terminology, cannot be taken in the sense of professional groups as strictly as they were taken before, the majority of them are still engaged in their traditional occupations. And this by no means can be said to have been an exclusively Indian phenomenon. As a matter of fact professions became hereditary commonly among peoples in both Indian and non-Indian societies in ancient times, and they remained so till the advent of the modern industrial era.[2] However, owing to various social, economic and political causes the *varṇa* and caste rules in India in respect of choosing professions became more and more rigid and inflexible with the passage of time. In early Indian society the technical occupations always tended to become hereditary at a far more faster rate than what we notice today. Apart from other reasons the hereditary nature of occupations served as a potent factor for the growth and proliferation of various castes and subcastes.[3] As the son generally followed his father's craft, one's birth in a particular craftman's family normally determined his occupation. The association of one's caste with his occupation and the stigma which came to be attached to his craft accounted for the identification of one's craft with his birth in the course of centuries.[4]

The terms *varṇa* and *Jāti*

As *varṇa* and *jāti* distinctions and technical occupations in early Indian society form a very fascinating subject of study, it would not be out of place to discuss briefly the concepts of *varṇa* and *jāti*. In fact numerous studies have been made on early Indian social order,[5] particulary from the early nineteenth century to the present day, by both European and Indian scholars. A host of sociologists, anthropologists and ethnologists in recent years such as Narendra Wagle, M. N. Srinivas, Max Weber, Louis Dumot, T. R. Trautman, etc., have made great efforts to determine precisely the early Indian social stratification by giving fresh interpretations of the terms *varṇa* and *jāti*.[6] Though

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voluminous work has been done on the meanings of *varṇa* and *jāti* in the Indian context, the indiscriminate use of concepts and terms by them leads us more often than not to the confused understanding of our early social institutions. Whether in the case of *varṇa* or in that of *jāti*, we must look at these two both as theoretical abstractions in respect of their origin as well as existing realities in a sharply class-divided society of ancient India based on relations of production from the later vedic age onwards.[7]

Apart from being originally used in the sense of "colour" in the Vedic literature for distinguishing between the fair and dark complexions of the different Aryan and non-Aryan tribes respectively, the use of the terms *varṇa* right from the close of the early vedic period had been hand in glove with the formation of social classes and distinction of professions alloted to them theoretically and otherwise.[8] The organic conception of social structure or the *varṇa* scheme of social division as envisaged in the Vedic and post-Vedic texts[9] clearly symbolizes the two lower orders, the vaiśyas and śūdras, as the main producing communities on which rested the whole social organism. The theoretical application of biological laws to the social evolution by both the Vedic texts and brāhmaṇical law-books had, what we may call, "a certain class bias", as it was mainly designed to prove that the four-fold division of society was as natural as the different organs of human body. In the beginning the theory of social organism denoted division of labour marked by superior and inferior types, but during the heyday of brāhmaṇical scheme of social structure between *c.* 600 B.C. and A.D. 500, it came to be looked upon as a natural order, an unalterable law. Once the Indian society was divided into four main classes, this theoretical abstraction in course of time came to be regarded as fundamental[10] and as functional on occupational or professional lines.[11] The *varṇa* scheme of social structure, therefore, had been devised with the purpose of serving the interests of the two higher *varṇas*, the brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, representing respectively the mouth and arms of Prajāpati, the "Primeval Man" by the two lower *varṇas*, the vaiśyas and śūdras, who symbolized his thighs and feet in the same way as the entire organism of a human body depends on the harmonious functioning of its different parts.

As regards the term *jāti* or, for that matter, "caste" *vis-a-vis varṇa*, the one has been often loosely applied to the other by both early Indian authorities as well as a host of modern historians and sociologists in India and elsewhere ; the former in the sense of *varṇa* and the latter in the sense of caste. Some historians and Indologists such as Professor A. L. Basham[12] and Trautman[13] try to show that ancient Indian texts carefully make a distinction between the words *varṇa* and *jāti*. They object to and regard as "completely unscientific"[14] the frequent use of the term *varṇa* in the sense of *jāti* and *vice-versa*. But, on the contrary, there are many instances of these two having been confounded by the early Indian writers themselves.[15] Despite their different connotations originally, the terms *varṇa* and *jāti* came to be often used as interchangeable ones in the post-Vedic literature. The practice of using them confoundedly gained much currency during the period *c.* 600 B.C. and A.D. 500, as is evident from both the Buddhist and brāhmaṇical sources. Apart from the use of the term *vārṇa* for the four principal social orders, the word *jāti* came to be applied in course of time to numerous

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endogamous and exogamous social groups, occupational and functional, the membership of which depended on birth. For example, the *Dharmasūtras* and *Smṛtis* use the word *jāti* in the sense of caste.[16] Similarly, the expression *jātidharma* in the law-books denotes the "rules of caste."[17] Though sometimes *varṇa* and *jāti* are clearly distinguished, as in the two passages of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*,[18] very often they are confounded.[19] Sometimes the term *varṇa* has been applied to the "mixed castes", as we notice in the two passages of the *Manu Smṛti*.[20]

The literal meaning of the word *jāti* in the Indian context is "something into which one is born."[21] Its English equivalent "caste" has been derived from the Latin *castus* meaning "chaste" or "closed", and it is now generally applied to a "most exclusive and closed social group."[22] Castes as most exclusive social groups of people bound together by the unity of hereditary occupations[23] dominated the Indian social scene in their own right in classical India and also in later times. In the Indian context the word *jāti* came to be applied frequently to numerous divisions and sub-divisions of the different *varṇas*, and it is still used in the various regional languages of the country.[24] In one way or the other the theoretical *varṇa* scheme also implies class distinctions based on birth and in some either higher or lower class of society, the principle of heredity in the sphere of taking to one's occupation being its very corner-stone. And hence there has been no appreciable difference between *varṇa* and *jāti*.[25] Even the very theoretical division of society into four *varṇas* denotes the four distinct social classes the membership of which came to be dependent on birth in the same way as the emergence of numerous endogamous and exogamous social groups came to stand for various castes and sub-castes in later times.

The crux of the matter is that in early Indian social organisation the concepts of both *varṇa* and *jāti* exerted much influence on each other, both played a vital role in the transformation of social structure and both resembled one another organisationally and otherwise.[26] Similarly, *varṇa*, *jāti* and occupation generally went hand in hand and produced a deep effect on the social organisation.

Caste and Occupation

It is an oft-repeated generalization that the division of Indian society into the four principal *varṇas* as well as numerous castes and sub-castes was essentially functional, though occasionally some historians, too, fall into the clap-trap of the modern sociologist's search for precision. For example, Professor Lallanji Gopal, while making a distinction between the words "functional" and "occupational", observes that as the growth of sub-divisions among the priestly and ruling classes in later times "did not take place along professional or economic lines" the nature of their work was "essentially functional and not occupational."[27] This type of differentiation may be appropriate in its own right in sociology and anthropology, but historically it sounds unduly pedantic. One may call it by any name, "occupation", "profession" or "function"; they all fully imply some sort of labour the scope of which extends to almost all sorts of human activity. Secondly, there are a good many instances of members of the

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brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya communities taking to the occupations of the vaiśyas and śūdras in classical India. Evidently one's *varṇa* or *jāti* and his occupation did not always remain organically bound up with each other. The fact of the matter is that *varṇa* and caste-divided society and the classification of the lavour force on occupational lines emerged as a permanent social and economic phenomenon in India in pre-Maurya times, which went on hardening in later times. As the members of the two lower orders comprised the main producing section of the society, they constituted the bulk of the labour force.

The process of division of Indian society into four main theoretical abstractions called *varṇas* started towards the close of the Ṛg-Vedic period, which further developed into various occupational groups in later Vedic times. And these groups engaged in their specialized functions gradually evolved into distinct artisan and other castes during the period *c.* 700 and 500 B.C. A good number of them had already emerged as castes and many were in the process of developing into castes.[28] Normally it was the vaiśyas and śūdras constituting the different strata of labouring masses in whose ranks took place the growth of numerous divisions and sub-divisions along vocational lines and who came to be generally known after the avocations they followed to earn their livelihood. Among a large number of such occupational castes mention may be made of the svarṇakāra (goldsmith), the ayaskāra or lohakāra (blacksmith), the kumbhakāra (potter), the carmakāra (leather-worker), the takṣan (carpenter), the rathakāra (chariot-maker), the tailika (oil-presser), etc. The names or for that matter castes of these craftsmen refer to the materials in which they worked and in the working of which they specialized as the different occupational groups throughout the centuries.[29] It is significant that with the growth of trade and towns during the pre-Maurya, Maurya and post-Maurya-Gupta times the main occupational caste groups tended to be divided into sub-castes that came to be known after the specific branches of their respective trades.[30] It was at times, therefore, the changes in the original trades of and the new allied occupations by members of the different artisan castes that gave rise to further sub-divisions among those castes which developed into completely distinct castes in course of time.

No doubt the numerous occupational castes and mixed castes appearing in the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Smṛtis* existed in various parts of the country, and the different avocations assigned to them reflect more or less the real contemporary situation.[31] The law-books were composed in different parts of India at different times and they reflect the state of affairs as prevailing mostly in the Gangā-Yamunā *doab* of Uttar Pradesh and in the Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Bihar regions, though they have also some bearing as the other parts of the country. However, there are several discrepancies between the theory as outlined in the texts and what was in practice. These brāhmaṇical sources may be mostly applied to the social and economic conditions of north India, but in south India also, as the Śangam literature shows, normally occupations such as those of the smiths, jewellers, potters, etc., determined the castes of their followers. When the brāhmaṇas from the north brought with them their social ideas to the south, the Tamil social divisions and sub-divisions based entirely on occupations came to be

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amalgamated with the theoretical four-fold division[32] of the brāhmaṇical scheme of social structure.

As regards the general notion of *varṇa* and *varṇāśrama-dharma*, it would be futile to guote here the *Dharmaśāstra* rules bearing on the respective duties and functions of the four *varṇas*. Only this much would suffice to say that as the producing sections of society mainly consisted of the two lower orders, the duty of the vaiśyas was to carry on such occupations as agriculture, cattle-breeding, trade, money-lending, etc., and that of the śūdras to maintain themselves by serving the three upper *varṇas*.[33] And that at least in theory there was no fifth *varṇa* to take to arts and crafts as their normal occupations on which depended the material progress of the society entirely. The law-givers do not mention the different crafts as the normal functions of the śūdras. However, it was the *ekajāti* śūdra *varṇa*, as mentioned by the lawgivers, from which came an overwhelming number of craftsmen in early India.

The term śūdra right from the later Vedic period was "a collective name given to the heterogeneous working class,"[34] and this class remained in a "relation of servitude to to the three higher classes."[35] The servitude of the śūdras assumed different forms. They worked as domestic servants and slaves, agricultural and hired labourers and artisans.[36] It has been further argued that as the śūdras constituted a class of diverse elements and as it was not possible to absorb all of them as domestic servants and slaves of the three upper *varṇas*, a good number of them had to engage themselves in different crafts.[37] But, as in every civilized society since ancient times the emergence of labour force into two broad categories, skilled and unskilled, had been a common feature, so also in early Indian society the emergence of artisan classes from among the toiling masses was a natural social formation. Theoretically the question of giving permission to members of the lowest order to take to various skilled professions was out and out schemetic. Rather the necessity of encouraging them to practise various crafts to sustain the social fabrics reigned supreme. And as skilled occupations always tended to become hereditary, craftsmen originally belonging to the śūdra community came to be grouped and regrouped into distinct castes and sub-castes on occupational lines.

From the time of the Buddha onwards, when the classification of labour on caste and vocational lines clearly emerged as a factor in Indian society and economy, the brāhmaṇical lawgivers began to explicitly and emphatically lay down that the śūdras could support themselves and maintain their families by taking to various occupations.[38] Gautama states that the śūdras could live by practising mechanical arts.[39] Obviously the smiths, weavers, carpenters, potters, leather-workers, painters, etc., belonged to the śūdra class.[40] While defining the functions of the four *varṇas* Kauṭilya also echoes the terminology of the Dharmasūtras. He states that the śūdra can earn their livelihood by serving the twice-born and taking to the professions of artisans, dancers, actors, etc.[41]

Manu lays down that though the only duty of the śūdras was to serve the three higher *varṇas*, they are allowed to take to the avocations of artisans to maintain themselves if they were unable to secure livelihood through their servitude to the twice-born

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and if the lives of their wives and sons were at stake.[42] He further holds that the sūdras should follow various technical occupations and practical arts through which the twice-born are better served.[43] Yājñavalkya also enjoins that the chief duty of the śūdras is to serve the twice-born for the sake of *dharma* as well as their livelihood, but if they are unable to live by that, they may become traders or they may take to "various arts and crafts promoting the good of the twice-born.[44] Since the law-books were exclusively compiled by the brāhmaṇa theoreticians, while even prescribing the mechanical occupations for the śūdras in abnormal times they claim for their class an exalted position in the social hierarchy of their vision. Thus commenting in the above passage in Yājñvalkya, the eleventh-century work *Mitākṣarā* explicitly states that for a śūdra "the service of the brāhmaṇas is the highest *dharma*, and it cites Manu (X. 123) in support of its view.[45]

We can deduce about twenty-five types of artisans from the *Manu Smṛti* alone. The following śūdra artisans have been directly referred to, though several other important craftsmen, who have been left out, can be listed from the various provisions of Manu : tantuvāya (weaver),[46] tunnavāya (tailor),[47] rañgāvatāra, rañjaka and nirṇejaka (dyer and washerman)[48] carmāvakartina (leather-cutter),[49] carmakāra (leather-worker,[50] gṛhasaṃveśaka (mason)[51] tailika (oilman), śauṇḍika (wine-brewer),[52] dhanuḥśarānāmkartā (maker of bows and arrows) and nāpita (barber).[53] Besides a dozen categories of general artisans, the text also mentions the two most important metal workers such as svarṇakāra (goldsmith)[54] and karmāra (blacksmith).[55] Moreover, the expression *karukāñchilpinascaiva śūdrānscaiva*[56] clearly shows how the different śūdra castes worked as craftsmen. The words *carmāvakartin* and *carmakāra* clearly indicate that the former had begun to evolve as a sub-caste taking to the specific branch of tanning and leather-cutting within the main occupational caste of leather-workers.

The law-books of the period c. A.D. 300-500 and those compiled in later centuries suggest that handicrafts were now the normal occupations of the śūdras. The earlier condition that they could take to technical occupations only when they failed to earn their livelihood through their service of the three higher *varṇas* was now waived,[57] though in a contemporary Purāṇa[58] the law propounded by Manu and other lawgivers is repeated. The śudras as artisans and traders continued to play a vital role in promoting trade and industry which made rapid progress during this period[59] and, in turn, also accounted for the growth of diverse crafts and gave rise to a number of sub-castes within main artisan castes, as the *Amarakośa* and other texts tend to show. The earlier restriction that the śūdras could take to the occupations of craftsman only in times of distress was neither accepted in theory nor followed in practice.[60]

The great epic *Mahābhārata*, which follows the tradition set forth by the *Smṛtis* in its entirety, clearly states that apart from their service to the upper classes the ṣūdras may take to "trade, cattle-breeding and various crafts."[61] The two very important lawgivers of this period, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati, allow the śūdras to practise trade and all branches of crafts as their normal occupations,[62] Similarly, the famous Sanskrit lexican, *Amarakośa*, includes all types of artisans and craftsmen (*karus* and *śilpins*)[63] in the *śūdra varga* of the text.[64] It clearly shows that all sorts of crafts were normally practised by

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members of the different śūdra castes at this time. However, it is curious that this technical treatise also mentions two words, *kulakaḥ* and *kulaśreṣṭhī*, for craftsmen belonging to high families (*kulīna śilpī*).[65] As the artisans as a rule did not generally belong to the two upper *varṇas*, these two terms possibly either refer to the well-to-do vaisyas having amassed riches, as the term *śreṣṭhī* indicates, by practising crafts or to those sections of śūdra craftsman who earned great wealth.

It is noteworthy that this comprehensive lexical work refers to some sixteen categories of craftsman directly and many others indirectly. The mention of several terms for a single type of śilpins such as *pādūkṛta* and *carmakāra* for shoe-makers and leather-workers, and *takṣa*, *vardhaki*, *tvaṣṭā*, and kaṣṭhātaṭ for all categories of wood-workers indicate that there came into being a good many sub-castes within main artisan castes by the fifth-sixth centuries A.D.

No doubt the śūdra artisans accounted for the overwhelming majority of craftsmen in classical India. Besides, a good number of mixed castes who in theory originated from the unequal sex unions between the male and female members of the four main *varṇas*, according to the *Dharmasūtra* writers such as Gautama, Bandhāyana and Vasiṣṭha[66] and also Manu and other *Smṛti* writers and their commentators in the subsequent centuries, but most of whom were actually backward aboriginal tribes retaining their traditional occupations even after they were absorbed into brāhmaṇical society, also practised crafts.[67] Some of them such as *āyogava* took to carpentry,[68] and the dhigvaṇa and kārāvara worked in leather.[69] Other mixed castes such as the pāṇḍusopāka worked and dealt in cane and bamboo[70] and the veṇa made drums and other musical instruments and played on them.[71]

ĀPAD-DHARMA

Besides the *Dharmaśāstra* and technical treatises, the Buddhist texts, too, are replete with references to the śūdra artisans and handicraftsmen. It was normally the śūdras who took to technical occupations. But the provisions of the brāhmaṇical lawgivers pertaining to the duties and functions of the different castes as well as the contemporary social life depicted in other texts and epigraphic records indicate that craftsmanship was by no means confined to the śūdras alone. Laying down the functions of the four *varṇas* the *Smṛtis* also contain special sections commonly known as *āpad-dharma* which deal with the duties of the different classes of people when in distress. The rules of *āpad-dharma* carefully define what a man may legitimately do when he cannot maintain himself and his family by the profession prescribed for his class in normal times.[72] The vaiśyas and śūdras together constituted the producing masses and many vaiśyas, apart from their normal occupation of agriculture and trade, took to practical arts. And, as the Smṛtis tend to show, not only the vaiśyas but even the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas could take to such professions as were not appropriate to them. A number of precepts in the law-books imposing restrictions on brāhmaṇas in respect of choosing professions of their own accord including the sale of certain objectionable articles by them indicate that they could casually take to the occupations

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of merchants and craftsmen. The provisions in one way or the other suggest that they could not have adhered to these restictions punctoiliously.[73]

Since Manu lays down in unequivocal terms that if a vaiśya is unable to subsist by his own assigned duties, he may follow the professions of the śūdra,[74] it seems that distinctions between the two lower orders were being gradually obliterated[75] during the period *c.* 200 B.C. and A.D. 300. As a member of the class of traders a vaiśya was expected to possess an adequate knowledge of the various raw materials as well as the finished products in which he traded.[76] This indicates that besides those vaiśyas who practised crafts in adversity there were also a great many wealthy members of their class who possibly employed śūdra craftsmen in their industrial concerns on daily wages. As the "industrialists" of early India they might have been tempted to take to industrial pursuits employing skilled workers under them. In fact the vaiśyas and śūdras constituted the warp and the woof of the producing section of society and, therefore, their technical pursuits cannot be defined separately, though the former predominantly formed the business community.[77] Like the śūdras the vaiśyas, too, comprised diverse elements in their ranks who could not be accommodated in the first two classes.[78] It was, therefore, quite natural for them to develop on vocational lines, as traders and artisans.[79] However, the majority of people from the vaiśya *varṇa* taking to technical occupations were predominantly of a low economic status.

For the earlier periods the main distinction can be made between the *dvijātis* and the *ekajātis*, that is, the three higher *varṇas* and the śūdras.[80] But during the first few centuries of the Christian era the overwhelming vaiśya masses were probably being thrown into the ranks of the śūdras.[81] Manu shows a far stronger tendency towards the approximation of the two lower orders in legal and civil matters. Moreover, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, a work of the Gupta period, explicitly states that in the Kali age "the vaiśyas will give up agriculture and trade and will take to servitude and mechanical arts, and the prevailing castes will be those of the śūdras."[82] All this shows that the traditional vaiśya varṇa was gradually disappearing and it was being lost in the śūdra masses.[83] Thus even among the vaiśyas who, like the śūdras, did not form a homogeneous population at any stage, there were a sizable number of people who, apart from their traditional callings, took to such mechanical occupations as smithy, carpentry, weaving, oil pressing, pottery, garland-making etc.[84] By this time members of the vaiśya community practising these crafts had developed into full-fledged caste groups based on hereditary occupations. Naturally they were more conscious of their caste and subcaste groups than of their being members of the original vaiśya *varṇa*.[85]

The approximation of the two lower orders during the post-Maurya and Gupta times in social and legal spheres gradually contributed to the manifold increase in the śūdra population. However, in some modern works it has been wrongly argued that generally the vaiśyas practised arts and crafts at this time.[86] And much worse still, a modern scholar from commerce[87] has characterised the śūdra labourers as "menials-cum-industrial workers" and the vaiśyas as "craftsmen". No doubt the two lower orders together constituted the bulk of the labour force, but we have no positive evidence to

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make such an absurd observation as has been done by him as follows : "The śūdra could also be employed as craftsmen but skilled craftsmen were usually found among the vaiśya."[88] He further makes an equally baseless and misleading remark that highly skilled artisans such as the smiths, potters, bow-and-arrow-makers, carpenters, stone-carvers, basket-makers, jewellers, dyers, weavers, embroiderers, chariot-makers, rope-makers, wine-distillers-all belonged exclusively to the vaiśya class, and that "unskilled manual occupations" were considered to be low and they were left to the śūdra class.[89] He emphatically argues without any rhyme or reason that the śūdras were meant for only unskilled and menial professions and they could take to the occupations of craftsmen, that were normally practised by the vaiśyas, only exceptionally.[90] He makes the above confused statement only on the basis of a solitary passage in the *Mahābhārata* which simply states that in addition to their normal occupations of trade, agriculture and cattle-breeding the vaiśyas could also take to crafts.[91] And so is also the case with a scholar of ancient Indian history who, in her published M.A. dissertation,[92] gives a very wrong and rather confused impression that "artisans and craftsmen in general that among others might have included the śilpis" in Manu including barbers "are mentioned in connection with the vocations of the śūdras" though they "should have been more logically the professions of vaiśyas according to the broad principles of the caste system as enumerated by Manu."[93] If we analyse the whole labour force in its correct historical perspective, all the evidence would point to the fact that the majority of craftsmen came from the different śūdra castes, though the vaiśyas, too, came to practise crafts in large numbers, especially during the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods.

As regards the question of choosing of professions by members of the two upper classes, there are in the *Dharmaśāstras* many instances of the brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas taking to occupations appropriate to the two lower orders. But it is difficult to believe Derret's assertion that people belonging to the two-higher classes "were successfully tempted to encroach upon the lower castes' occupational preserves."[94] There might have come to the fore a good number of "enterprising brāhmaṇas"[95] who could have emerged as traders and merchants in an age marked by unprecedented growth in trade and industry during the early centuries of our era violating the restrictions imposed upon their class in respect of choosing their professions. On the other hand there were certainly a *sizeable* number of them facing economic crisis who seem to have been compelled to take to technical and other occupations. The *Dharmaśāstra* injunctions imposing such restrictions themselves indicate that the distressed brāhmaṇas sometimes took to those occupations which were normally allotted to the vaiśyas and śūdras.

We thus come across the brāhmaṇas who, while on the verge of starvation, were allowed to earn by methods prescribed for the Kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras.[96] It is, however, a different matter to what extent did the more orthodox brāhmaṇas preserved a "sense of shame" if they or other members of their community took to agricultural, commercial, or industrial or mechanical occupations.[97] Since the law-givers of our period enjoin that in times of distress a brāhmaṇa may earn his livelihood by following an occupation prescribed for a kṣatriya or a vaiśya but he must not take to one meant

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for a śūdra,[98] it seems that they were much ashamed to have recourse to the professions appropriate to the śūdra *varṇa*. It is further enjoined that if a brāhmaṇa takes to the avocations of a śūdra and the latter to that of the former, "expulsion from the caste would be the immediate consequence."[99] The Dharmaśāstra injunctions tend to show that at any rate there were brāhmaṇas who worked as traders, handicraftsmen, merchants, etc.[100]

From a long list of articles in the law-books which have been allowed to be sold by the distressed brāhmaṇa including cotton and threads of cotton[101] and also that of certain articles that have not been allowed to be sold by them,[102] it appears that the hardpressed among them casually and otherwise practised certain crafts.

A passage in the law-book of Manu explicitly states that in the face of adversity members of the brāhmaṇa community could learn various arts and crafts even from the śūdras.[103] But elsewhere this comprehensive legal code contains certain rules not only forbidding the brāhmaṇas to take to technical occupations,[104] but declaring them unworthy of companions at the sacrifices to the gods and the manes if they worked as oilmen (tailika), makers of bows and arows, masions, carpenters, musical instrument-makers, userers, etc.[105] Manu further enjonis that those brāhmaṇas who work as craftsmen shall be treated as śūdras in a court of law.[106] All this shows that the distressed brāhmaṇas could take to professions appropriate to those of the vaiśya and śūdra castes under the pressure of circumstances, and that in respect of choosing one's occupations caste rules did not form a binding factor at least in abnormal times.[107] Normally this did not amount to loss of castes ; rather they speak volumes for occupational mobility in early India more often than not.[108]

In the extreme south also, where caste system based on occupation and influenced by the *varṇa* scheme of social hierarchy had assumed hereditary character during the śangam age, people could choose professions that were not meant for their castes. Hence there, too, we find a great deal of flexibility in the choice of occupations.[109] Thus even the brāhmaṇas, called *nakkīras*, took to the occupations of conch-cutting, bangle-making, bangle-trade, etc.[110] However, brāhmaṇas choosing the professions appropriate to the vaiśyas and śūdras were considered degraded brāhmaṇas and those who deviated from their duties were called veḷappārppaṛ.[111]

The precepts of the law-books, particularly the *Smṛtis*, that either allow or debar brāhmaṇas from taking to various occupations including crafts suggest that the early centuries of the Christian era represented a period of great social and economic crisis[112] when the distressed brāhmaṇas had to follow various menial and skilled occupations to earn their living. Nevertheless, the main producing classes continued to be those of the vaiśyas and śūdras and their numerous sub-divisions. The precepts of the *Smṛtis* can be better appreciated against the general background of the post-Maurya period marked by constant foreign invasions and the rise of a number of indigenous and foreign dynasties. The penetration of the foreign peoples such as the Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians, the Kuṣāṇas, etc., in northern, western and north-western India, which is attested to by the law-book of Manu itself,[113] gave rise to social convulsions.

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The deep impact the prolonged penetration of these foreign peoples had produced on Indian society in the Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat and the North-West is also borne witness to by the Nasik Cave inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī, which was issued in the 19th regnal year of the Satavāhana king Gautamīputra Pulumāyi (*c.* A.D. 149).[114] This record describes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as a unique brāhmaṇa who championed the cause of the twice-born by stopping the contamination of the four *varṇas*.[115] Thus both the *Manu Smṛti* as well as the contemporary Sātavāhana inscription clearly show that the gradual intermixture of the indigenous population with these foreign peoples had considerably disturbed the traditional *varṇāśrama* scheme of social structure.

The process of the hardening of *varṇāśrama-dharma* though started during the period *c.* 600-300 B.C., as could be gathered from the *Dharmasūtras*,[116] it gained momentum during the period *c.* 200 B.C. and A.D. 300. Manu, whose law-book was quoted as a standard work on social laws not only at this time but in subsequent centuries, lays down emphatically that "it is better to do one's duty badly than another's well, because the adoption of another's *dharma* leads one to the loss of *jāti* immediately.[117] The Smṛti writers, therefore, ordain in unequivocal terms that particularly the two lower orders should be compelled to perform the duties assigned to them; for, "if they swerved from their duties they would throw the whole world into confusion."[118] But, on the other hand, if people acted according to the prescribed duties of the four *varṇas* even in times of distress, they would reach "the most blessed state."[119] Similar strict rules of *varṇāśrama-dharma* vis-a-vis the king's duty to uphold them have also been laid down by Kauṭilya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati.[120] In a critical situation the upholders of the traditional social laws and usage had to define clearly and precisely the rules pertaining to the lawful activities and functions of the four *varṇas*.[121] The laws of Manu and other lawgivers during a period of great social upheaval were formulated in such a way as to keep the producing masses within the bonds of their assigned duties.[122]

As regards the *varṇa* ideals and respective functions of the different *varṇas* and occupational caste groups down to the Gupta period, there seems to have been a great deal of discrepancy between the theory and practice. If the rules of *āpad-dharma* as provided in the Smṛtis were really adhered to punctiliously, that would have sent the very social fabric to its doom. If the śūdras were permitted to practise various crafts only in times of distress, it would have amounted to the very disintegration of society. If the vaiśyas and the śudras together normally did not pursue the avocations other than cultivation, cattle-breeding, trade and domestic service, then for whom the different crafts were primarily meant to sustain the social, economic and political structures? The rules of *āpad-dharma*, that is, "the duties when in distress", therefore, were especially incorporated into the law-books of the first few centuries of the present era owing mainly to a great social convulsion as a result of the constant influx of foreign peoples. The foreign invasions had rudely shaken the social structure as envisaged by the earlier brāhmaṇical theoreticians. It is against this background that the law-givers such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc., laid down utmost emphasis on this aspect of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* that the chief duty of the śūdras was to serve the twice-born both for the sake of religious merit as well as their livelihood. That particularly the service of the

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brāhmaṇas was their highest *dharma*, their supreme duty.[123] It was also because of a sizeable number of upper-class people taking to mercantile and technical occupations, in adversity and otherwise, that the lawgivers carefully inserted the *āpad-dharma* ection laying down what the people could legitimately do when they failed to maintain sthemselves by the professions normally allotted to their respective classes.[124] The *Dharmaśāstras* in fact depict only such conditions as "the brāhmaṇas would have liked them to be."[125] But the same provision in the case of the śūdra community smacks of a heavy doze of discrepancy between the theory as outlined in the texts and what was actually in practice.

On the whole, the different arts and crafts were normally practised by various divisions and sub-divisions of the śūdra castes, which went on developing and proliferating on occupational lines in the contemporary social and economic framework from the post-Vedic period onwards. The most authoritative lexicon of Amara Siṃha specifically places a number of artisans and their trades in the śūdra *varga* of the text. Generally it was the śūdras, therefore, who jealously preserved their own traditional occupations and the mysteries of their crafts. Besides, the vaiśyas also took to crafts in large numbers. And so did the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, too, though occasionally. Secondly, if the normal duties prescribed for the different *varṇa* as well as the rules of *āpad* were strictly followed, both the main producing sections belonging to the vaiśya and śūdra castes as well as the people of higher castes thriving on the labour of the former would have been put to distress ultimately arresting the very material progress of society in classical India. It would be, therefore, wrong to assume, as a scholar from the discipline of Sanskrit does,[126] that the rules regarding choosing of professions were so strict that normally nobody could change his profession, and that no one was free to adopt any profession of his choice "according to the natural bent of his mind."[127] The picture of society as depicted in the law-books of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana, etc., cannot be taken to be fully true without considering the discrepancy between theory and practice.

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9. *Ṛg Veda*, x. 90; *AV*, XIX. 6.6., *Taittirīya Br.*, VII. 1, 4; *Manu*, I. 31.
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20. *Manu*, X. 27, 31.
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40. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
41. *AŚ*, I. 3.8 : *Śūdrasya dvijātiśuśrūṣā vārtā-kārukuśīlavakarma ca.* R. Sharma Sastry (*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, tr., p. 7) interprets the term *vārtā* in the sense of the three occupations of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade, but actually it has been used in the sense of livelihood. See Sharma, op. cit. p. 146, fn. 1.
42. Manu, X. 99. Aśaknuvaṃstu śuśrūṣām śūdraḥ kartuṃ dvijanmanām, *putradārātyayaṃ prāpto jīvetakārukarmabhiḥ.*
43. *Ibid.*, X. 100. Yaih karmabhiḥ pracaritaiḥ śuśrūyante dvijātayaḥ, *tāni kārukarmāṇi śilpāṇī vividhāni ca.*
44. *Yāj.*, I. 20 Śūdrasyadvijaśuśrūṣā...śilpairvāvivi-dhairjīve dvijātihitamācaraṃa.
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36

Sculptural Assets of the Gupta Period in Gaya

MATHURA MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI

It is a matter of pleasure and pride to state that, in remote past, the Proto-historic city of Gaya was inhabited by much cultured people possessing high technical knowledge, and this is evident from the recent discovery of some rare pieces of highly polished pot-sherds known as "N.B.P. Ware" from the ground of Jangambadi lying close to the famous Visnupada Temple, and which is generally assigned by the archaeologists to the period from 700 to 200 B.C.[1] These N.B,P. Sherds are discovered and preserved by Sri N. Akhter, Curator, Gaya Museum.

According to K.P. Jayaswal, "Visnupada at Gaya existed even before the time of Yaskacarya (600 B.C.) and also Buddha."[2] Copious references, given in the Epics, Nirukta, Saṁhitās, Purāṇas, Smṛtis and other hoary Hindu scriptures, extol the high sanctity of Gayā; the best place for Ancestor-Worship.

With the revival of the Brāhmaṇical religion and culture during the reign of the ardent Vaiṣṇava emperors of the mightly Gupta dynasty, Gayā-tīrtha rose to great eminence. This is evident from the Copper-Plate grant (359 A.D.) of the great emperor Samudragupta, having Garuḍa seal, related to the Gayā-Viṣaya (or Gaya district). The Guptas were tolerant to Buddhism and other religions also.[3]

The existence of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya during the Gupta epoch (4th/5th Century A.D.) may be known also from the terracotta-seal (No. 31) of the Viṣṇupada temple, discovered by T. Bloch in Vaisāli.[4] Subsequently, this Gupta temple of Viṣṇupada lost its existence long ago, and over this site, the present one has been built by the piety of Rāni Ahilyābāi Holkar in A.D. 1783.

It is worthwhile to note that, like the renowned Vaiṣṇava temple at Bhitargaon (U.P.) of the Gupta period, the aforesaid Gupta temple of Viṣṇupāda was built of bricks. It is indicated by an old large brick (34×27×6 cms.) discovered by the present writer under the foundation of the dismantled building of 'Aonra tar ke Dharmasālā' which stood just to the north of the Viṣṇupāda temple.[5]

It is interesting to mention here that, centering round the great Viṣṇupāda temple of the Gupta age, some other attendant Vaiṣṇava temples were erected in the neighbourhood, viz., temples of Nṛsiṁha, Gadādhara, Jagannātha, Ādi-Gadādhara, etc. The small basalt-made the *tri-ratha* temple of Nṛsiṁha has figures of *dikpālas* on its exterior

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walls and a richly decorated door-frame. It is the earliest existing temple of Hindu Gayā, belonging to c. 9th Century A.D.[6]

During the Gupta period, the Chinese pilgrim Fā-hien visited India and stated that the city of Gaya was a desolate place,[7] because perhaps there was no Buddhistic establishment here, and his above statement was undoubtedly prejudiced by his Buddhistic predilections. In the post-Gupta period another Chinese traveller came to India and though he wrote that the city of Gayā had few inhabitants, he says that there were one thousand highly venerated families of Brāhmins[8] (probably ancestors of the Gayāwāllās). And this bears eloquent testimony to the fact that at that time Gayā-tīrtha was a great centre of Brahmaṇical religion and culture and which definitely gave rise to the pious act of building holy temples and images in Hindu Gayā.

It is worthy to note here that during the Gupta epoch (4th-5th Centuries A.D.) and in the later Gupta period (6th-7th Centuries A.D.), and also in the preceding periods, buff sandstone was commonly used in Eastern India for making temples and images.[9] But during the Pāla period (8th-12th Centuries) they were generally built of black basalt stone. It will not be out of place to mention here that almost all the existing ancient temples, images and inscriptions of Hindu Gayā are made of black basalt, which may be assigned to the Pāla period.

Really, it is a matter of great regret and astonishment to note that in the renowned Gayā-tīrtha, lying in the heart of the Gupta homeland of Magadha, now there does not exist even a single shrine which can be relegated to the Gupta of the Post-Gupta period (4th-7th Centuries A.D.), and icons also of this time are scarcely found here, although, the remains of some surviving excellent Brahmanical temples and images of the Gupta epoch are still found in other places of India. It may be assumed that the Gupta temples and images, that existed in Hindu Gayā, perished by the ravages of time and nature or were ruthlessly destroyed by the barbarous Hūṇas and the fury of the Muslim conquerors. Moreover, the famous pilgrim city of Gayā lay in the track of the iconoclast invaders.[10]

The present writer, after strenuous efforts, has been able to hunt out in the historic holy city of Gayā only a poor number of surviving sculptures and architectural remnants, which may be attributed to the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods (4th to 7th Centuries A.D.). A list of these valuable antiquariah and artistic remains of Hindu Gayā, with necessary notes, is furnished below.[11]

It is noteworthy that S.P. Singh in course of his illuminating lecture, has rightly observed that thorough and extensive excavations of the Gayā city, one of the oldest cities of the world, would give us thrilling experiences and rare objects (including rich Gupta relics) of great historical value.

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LIST OF NOTABLE SCULPTURES OF GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA PERIODS IN GAYĀ—(4th-7th Centuries A.D.)

1. *A Male Figure* (Unidentified) :

It is a large-sized buff-sandstone figure, in bas-relief (52″×42″) of a god (or king), fixed in a wall of a small varandah to the east of the Viṣṇupāda Temple. The image of the god is sitting, in a heroic and majestic pose, on a seat (or throne), placed on two young elephants. The deity is seated in *ardhaparyaṇkāsana*. The icon's right hand is placed on the right knee, holding some round object, and the left hand rests on the left thigh. The god is adorned with various ornaments, viz., *mukuṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *hāra* and *valaya*. On each side of the deity, there are three figures of attendants. The stela is divided into three circlets, which is a rarity.

D.R. Patil has described this sculpture as of god Indra. But the absence of *vajra*, *aṁkuśa*, etc., the popular emblems of Indra, signifies that this image cannot be taken as Indra. Moreover, he is not seen riding on the back of his mount Airāvata,[12] nor he is accompained by his consort Sacī.

This image, being thickly smeared with oil and dust, shows a blackish look. This sculpture may be assigned to the early Gupta period (4th Century A.D.).

2. *Gayā-Gaja*

There is a beige coloured sandstone sculpture in round representing a tusked elephant (28″×13″×27″) culling flower or fruit from a tree. It is placed in a small varandah standing to the west of the Gadādhara Temple, within the precincts of the Viṣṇupāda.

This figure may be attributed to the early Gupta epoch (4th Century A.D.). But according to T. Bloch, it belongs to the beginning of the Christian era.[13]

There stands a sandstone shaft (10 ft. high) just to the right side of the aforesaid figure of the elephant.

This holy spot is called "Gayā-Gaja' or 'Gajarāja Tirtha' which forms a holy *Vedi* of the Gayā-pilgrimage, and has been referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (106-57).

3. *Plough-Man*

A medallion (19″×13″) of Chunar sandstone with decorative work is fixed in a wall near the Nṛsiṁha temple close to the Viṣṇupāda.

This sculpture depicts an interesting scene of ploughing the field by a gay looking village cutlivator with the help of a pair of bullocks. He is holding a short stick in his right hand and the plough in the left. He wears a turban. The style of this sculpture leads us to place it in the early Gupta period (4th Century A.D.) or even earlier.

It is noteworthy that the aforesaid figure of the ploughman cannot be considered as an image of Sankarṣaṇa-Balarāma for the reasons that it does not conform to the iconographical prescriptions laid down in the ancient texts of the Hindu

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Silpaśāstras, *viz.*, *Agni-Purāṇa* (Ch. 15 & 49,), *Viṣṇudarmottara* (Part III), *Vṛhatsaṁhitā* (Ch. 57), etc., which elaborately deal with the typical iconic features of the god Balarāma.

4. *A Shaft*

There is a shaft, made of hornblende-stone, fixed up in the southern wall of the covered passage leading to the Gadādhara Ghāṭ close to the Viṣṇupāda temple. Only the lower part of the shaft is visible. This well designed shaft represents the undernoted features.

The shape of the pillar is octagonal, having a square type base, and the same exhibits the conventional decorative motif of pot and foliage (or *ghaṭa-pallava*).

This shaft may be attributed to the Later Gupta period, probably the last part of the 7th Century A.D.

5. *Skanda-Mātā*

There is a sandstone relief sculpture (19″×13″), representing an image of the goddess Skanda-Mātā, and the same is fixed on the western wall of the small shrine of Ekādaśa Rudra which stands in the compound of the historic and holy ground of Jangambādī Matha lying close to the Viṣṇupāda temple.

This harmoniously carved figure of Gaurī Devī, with plump breasts, is seated on a seat squatting on her left leg. Her right hand rests on her raised right knee. The godess is affectionately carrying her child Kārttikeya by her left hand, and her right hand is holding something indistinct (may be mirror). She is bedecked with various ornaments. The particular style of the sculpture, with motherly charms, leads us to place it in the post-Gupta age (6th-7th Centuries A.D.). This image, being thickly coated with oil and vermillion, bears a blackish look.

6. *Door-Jamb*

There is a beige sandstone door jamb (54″×9¼″) found in the historic and sacred stone structure of the Jangambadi Math. This jamb contains three distinct artistically carved floral stripes, a figure of conch and a graceful standing figure of a *caurī* bearing female attendant in *tribhaṅga*-pose. The dignified style of the sculpture and its beautifully executed decorative designs, lead us to place it in the pre-pāla period (6th-7th Centuries A.D.). Recently, this door-jamb alongwith some other valuable sculptures, have been carried to the Gaya Museum.

It will not be out of place to mention here that a pair of similar lithic door jambs are preserved in the Gaya Museum, and they were brought from the dismantled stone-structure of Dasnami Akhra, which previously stood on the present site of the Sankarācārya Park, lying within the precincts of the Viṣṇupāda temple.

7. *A Pair of Pillars*

There is a small six-pillared stone pavillion, standing near the outer entrance of the

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Gayā-Vedī of Ādi-Gadādhara (*Vāyu Purāṇa* 106-63) on the Karsalli hill (ancient Muṇḍapṛstha Parvata). The two eastern pillars (6½ ft. high) of the aforesaid pavillion may be assigned to the 7th century A.D., because they bear the stylized distinctive features common to the sacred structures of the Gupta epoch. The shape of these two shafts is octagonal, having square-type bases, and the same represent finely executed decorative motifs of Vase and foliage (i.e., *ghata-pallava*), surmounted by *āmalaka*. The upper parts of these two shafts are exquisitely ornamented with a continuous row of swinging pearl strings. Probably, these two shafts were brought here from some earlier ruined Gupta temple of this area.

8. *Brahmeśvara Śiva Liṅga*

The sandstone Ekamukhi Śiva *liṅga* known as Brahmeśvara is enshrined in a small granite temple standing on the Upperdih-hillock on the eastern bank of river Phalgu, and the same is close to the holy *vedī* of Gāyatrī, consort of lord Brahmā.

This *liṅga* is 1′ 8″ high having a circumference of 2′ 10″. The sublime face of lord Śiva, carved on the *liṅga*, is decorated with ornaments, such as, *Jaṭā-mukuṭa*, *hāra* and *kuṇḍala*'. The right portion of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, and the nose are effaced and decayed. The aforesaid Śiva *liṅga* may be assigned to the Later Gupta period (6th-7th Centuries A.D.). Brahmeśvara, forming a holy spot of Gayā-pilgrimage, has been referred to in the *Agni Purāṇa* (Ch. 116-24).[14]

It is an interesting fact that the Gayā's Purānic name, Brahmapurī[15] might have been derived from the name of lord Brahmeśvara the presiding god of the ancient Gayā, when the Brahmā cult was predominate in the Gayā region in the pre-Buddhist time.[16]

It may be assumed that after the decay of the earlier brick-built temple of Brahmeśvara of post-Gupta age, containing the aforesaid sandstone Śiva *liṅga*, a big granite temple of this god was erected over this very site during the Pāla period (about 10th/11th Centuries A.D.), which may be known from the presence of many massive granite pillars, lintels, etc., now lying scattered here. Excavation of this ancient site may bring to light valuable relics of the post-Gupta and the Pāla periods.

9. *Kapileśa Śiva Liṅga*

There is a phallus emblem of lord Śiva known as Kapileśa, enshrined in a small temple on the holy rivulet Kapila (or Kapila-Dhārā) on the Brahmayoni Hill. The Śiva *liṅga* is 14′. high having a circumference of 31″. It belongs to the Later Gupta period (6th/7th Centuries A.D.).

10. *Dancing Gaṇeśa*

There is a fine sculpture, in bas-relief, of dancing Gaṇeśa, on his favourite mount the mouse. This sandstone image (22″×13″) is fixed on a wall inside the small shrine of lord Somanātha-Śiva *liṅga*. It is situated on the Brahmayoni hill, close to the shrine of Kapileśa described above. This deity is flanked by two devotees carved out in the lower corners, and also two flying Vidyādharas on the upper corners. Out of his four hands,

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the lower left is broken. This image may be assigned to the Later Gupta period (6th/7th Centuries A.D.).[17]

11. *Umā-Maheśvara*

There is a finely carved sandstone figure in bas-relief, (9″×9″), representing Umā-Maheśvara. It is fixed in the wall inside the small shrine of the aforesaid lord Somanātha. The lower part of the image is lost. It may be assigned to the Later Gupta age (6th-7th Centuries A.D.).

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37

Sattra in Indian Epigraphy and Art

KRISHNA DEVA

The Sattra of the institution of free feeding is known in India since hoary antiquity. Originally meaning a sacrifice or a sacrificial session, the word *sattra* came to have specific association with *manuṣyayajña* (synonyms *nṛyajña* or *atithiyajña*) which constitutes one of the pañcāmahāyajñas prescribed for the Vedic householder.

Unlike the elaborate *śrauta* sacrifices for which the ministration of the priest was needed, the *pañcamahāyajñas* were household (*gṛhya*) sacrifices and were to be performed by the householder himself every day, as prescribed by such Vedic texts as the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* II.10 and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 5.6.1. These injunctions were handed down through various Dharmasūtras, Gṛhyasūtras, Smṛtis including those by Manu and Yājñavalkya, the epics and the Purāṇas to the later Smṛtis and Dharmaśāstras and their numerous Digests and were recommended to be observed as daily duties by the pious Hindu householder. The five *mahāyajñas* comprised *bhūtayajña* or feeding all living creatures including the cattle, animals and even birds and insects; *manuṣyayajña* or honouring and feeding the guests; *pitṛyajña* or offering to the manes; *devayajña* or offering oblations to the divinities and *brahmayajña* or study of the Vedic lore. It will be seen that some of the noblest human sentiments like devotion, gratitude, reverence and compassion prompted these performances and of the five *mahāyajñas* the *manuṣyayajña* involving honouring and feeding of guests was as much a social obligation as a personal duty or act of merit. It is, therefore, not surprising that an institution of such significance as the *sattra* should be frequently documented in Indian art and epigraphy.

The earliest epigraphic reference to this institution is in a Kuṣāṇa inscription dated year 28 (A.D. 106) of the reign of Huviṣka from Mathura.[1] It records the maintenance of a *puṇyaśālā* a synonym for *sattra* where a hundred Brāhmaṇas were fed free on the fourteenth day of the bright half of each month and where provision was made for the daily distribution among the destitute, the hungry and the thirsty of 3 *āḍhakas* of groats (*saktu*), one *prastha* each of salt and sugar, one *kalāpaka* of vegetables, 3 earthen jars and 5 earthen cups. These were met out of interest from a perpetual endowment of two amounts of 550 *Purāṇa* coins each, deposited with two guilds.

It is interesting to note that the site of Katra Keśavadeo in Mathura has yielded a curved lintel carved (Pls. 12&13) with reliefs on both its faces in the art style of *circa* first

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century B.C. One face (Pls. 14-16&17) shows centrally a temple enshrining what looks like the Mother Goddess wearing a prominent *vaikakṣika* or *channavīra*, resembling some early terracotta figures of the goddess, known from Mathura.[2] The temple depicted is a timber structure with a double roof and is entered through an elaborate *toraṇa* with a *candraśālā*-shaped *mukhapaṭṭī* crowned by a finial and is also provided with a pair of windows for ventilation. It is flanked by a running row of two-storeyed pavillions, supported on pillars and enclosed by railings on the ground and the first floor, which have four similar *toraṇas* on the left and five *toraṇas* on the right. The other face of the lintel (Pls 13&15) bears a graphic representation of a *sattra* within a religious establishment marked by a pair of shrines, each enclosed by a railing, at the two ends. The right end shrine is flanked by a *vṛkṣa-caitya* and the left end one by a freestanding *toraṇa*. The scene shows two large utensils obviously containing foodstuffs and a churning equipment in the middle, flanked by a group of standing mendicants on the left and of seated ones on the right, each carrying a bowl. From the *kaparda* form of hairdress the mendicants appear to be of the Śaiva affiliation.

The next epigraph referring to *sattra* is the Gadha (Jasdan, Distt. Rajkot) pillar inscription[3] dated (Śaka) 127 (A.D. 205) of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena, which refers to the erection of a *sattra* by some private individuals. This inscription, however, does not provide any details of the *sattra*.

We get prolific references to the *sattra* in the inscriptions of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. Garhwa, situated near Kauśāmbī in District Allahabad, is a well known ancient site which has yielded seven Gupta inscriptions, the largest number found from any single place, of which six are concerned with the *sattra*. Out of the six epigraphs,[4] two pertain to the reign of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II while four belong to that of his son and successor Kumāragupta I. Only two are dated, one in the (Gupta) year 88 (A.D. 408) during the reign of Candragupta II and the other in the (Gupta) year 98 (A.D. 418) of the reign of Kumāragupta I. The six inscriptions, engraved on only two pillars, are very fragmentary and reveal a uniformity of style and content. All of them refer to the self same institution *viz.* a *sadāsattra* for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, which was continued at the site through two reign-periods. The religious context appears to be Vaiṣṇava which is indicated by the epithet *paramabhāgavata* given in the record to the two Gupta emperors and by the Vaiṣṇava formula 'Jitaṁ Bhagavatā' occurring at the beginning of one of the inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta. The object of each inscription is to record the private donation of *dināras* or 'gold coins', varying from ten to nineteen in number, for the perpetual maintenance of the *sadāsattra* which is described as a *dharmaskandha* or a work of religious merit. Any interference with this arrangement was sought to be imprecated by dire curses.

It is interesting to note that the site of Garhwa has yielded among the architectural members, constituting the *disject a membra* of a large Gupta temple, a stone lintel (Pls. 18, 19&20), 13 ft. 3½ inches long, which is broken in three pieces and carved with remarkable groups of figures in a most attractive artistic style. In the centre is a figure of multi-headed and multi-armed Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa (Pl. 21), standing in

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samabhaṅga and flanked by a pair of attendants on each side and by additional figures of a supplicant and an umbrella-bearer on the right. On the same side is depicted a long procession moving towards the deity. In the centre of the procession is the *caru* (cooked offering to deities for *devayajña*) being carried in a large tray, placed on the head of a noble male devotee (Pl. 22) and shaded by a brocade canopy, raised on four poles, which are borne by *kubjikās* (female dwarfs). The group carrping the canopy is led by a female figure holding a banner and a male carrying on his shoulder further offering in a try and is also preceded by a large orchestra of musicians, comprising drummers, flutists and cymbal-players, and followed by six female devotees, all moving to worship the deity.

Immediately to the left of the deito is the rare depiction of a *sattra* (Pl. 23) where food is being served to about half a dozen seated men inside a hall. Outside the ornate entrance to the *sattraśālā* is a long row of thirteen men dominated by a royal figure, (Pl. 24), who is distinguished by an umbrella-bearing attendant. The king preceded by a high dignitary is probably offering a roube to a squatting figure who seems to be attended by two standing figures, one of them perhaps holding a sword. The king is followed by a host of attendants including a sword-bearing guard, three men carrying *yoga-bhāraka* on the shoulder and one carrying a large round cushion-like object on the head. At the extreme ends of the lintel are carved beautiful representations of the sun and the moon.

It will be seen that the lintel presents a vivid illustrations of the *sattra* mentioned in the six Gupta inscriptions. The presence of the *sattra* close to the image of Viṣṇu indicates that the *sattra* constituted an important activity of the Viṣṇu temple at Garhwa, of which this lintel formed a component part.

There are two other contemporary inscriptions assignable to the fifth century, which mention the establishment of *sattras* in Viṣṇu temples. One is the Pattan copper plate inscription[5] of Vākāṭaka Pravasena II from District Betul in Berar and the other is the Podagadh inscription[6] of Nala Skandavarman from Koraput area in Orissa. The latter inscription states that the *sattra* was open as much to the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics as to the indigent and the destitute.

During the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. we get numerous references to land-grants to Brāhmaṇas and endowments to temples for setting up a *sattra* or free feeding establishment in association with the performance of *bali* (i.e. *bhūtayajña*) and *caru* (i.e. *devayajña* or/and *pitṛyajña*). To these is frequently added repairs to the temple and provision of objects required for the rituals of worship in the temple as among the objectives of the donation. In four land-grants to Brāhmaṇas, three from Bengal and one from Bihar the purpose is specified as the performance of the five *mahāyajñas* which obviously includes the *manuṣyayajña* or honouring and feeding the guests. Two of these, viz. the Kalaikuri–Sultanpur (District Rajshahi, Bangladesh) copper-plate grant[7] and one of the Damodarpur (Distt. Dinajpur, Bangladesh) copper-plate grants,[8] are respectively dated A.D. 439 and 447 in the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, while the Mallasarul (Distt. Burdwan) copper-plate grant[9] of Gopa-

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candra is assignable to the sixth century. The grant from Bihar is the Nandapur (District Monghyr) copper-plate inscription[10] dated (Gupta) year 169 (A.D. 488).

Three copper plate inscriptions from Khoh (District Satna of Madhya Pradesh) of the Uccakalpa rulers Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, two of them[11] dated (Gupta) years 177 (A.D. 496) and 193 (A.D. 512), record donations to a Sūrya temple and the temple of Piṣṭapurī for multiple purposes including maintenance of a *sattra*. A similar donation was dedicated to the temple of Piṣṭapurī by the Parivrājaka chief Saṁkṣobha, as recorded in another Khoh inscription[12] dated (Gupta) year 209 (A.D. 529). A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription[13] dated (Gupta) year 224 (A.D. 543) records exactly similar charities to be financed by a land-grant in favour of the shrine of Śvetavarāhasvāmī, a form of Viṣṇu-Varāha, set up in the eastern ranges of the Himalayas.

A land-grant of the early Śarabhapurīya ruler Narendra[14] (c. A.D. 500) and numerous land-grants and other inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁsī kings, assignable to the sixth and the early seventh century from Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh) mention the setting up of a *sattra* as the principal or one of the objectives of the donations. The Baloda grant[15] of Pāṇḍuvaṁsī Tīvaradeva records a *sattra* for feeding thirty persons daily. Four inscriptions of the reign of Pāṇḍuvaṁsī Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna refer to the establishment of *sattras*, two in Śaiva shrines and one each in the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava context. The Buddhist inscription[16] found at Sirpur states that friar Ānandaprabha bought from the Saṅgha a hut within the local monastic estabiish-ment and arranged for the daily gift of a setikā (two handfuls) of fine rice together with an adequate quantity of condiments for each resident monk. The Vaiṣṇava inscription found in the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur[17] records the gift by the queen mother Vāsaṭā of five villages, the revenue of which was to be equally distributed on three items viz. (1) running a *sattra*, (2) repairs to the temple, and (3) maintenance of the families of the temple priests.

The Nidhanpur copper plate inscription[18] of Bhāskaravarman, an early seventh century ruler of Kāmarūpa records a land-grant to some Brāhmaṇas for a *sattra* and other religious performances.

The institution of *sattra* was as popular in Western India during the fifth to the eighth centuries as in Eastern and Central India. An early mention of a *sattra* in Western India is furnished by the undated Bagh Cave Plates of Subandhu.[19] Assigna-ble to the fifth century, these plates record a land-grant to the Buddhist Saṅgha to be utilised for the proper worship of the Buddha including the running of a *sattra*, and for repairs to the shrines and comforts of the resident monks. The Sankheda (Distt. Baroda) copper plate of Śankaragaṇa,[20] a sixth century Kalacuri ruler of Māhiṣmatī and about a dozen copper plate inscriptions[21] of the early Gurjara rulers from Dadda II Praśāntarāga to Jayabhata IV, dated between A.D. 629 and 736, record land-grants to Brāhmaṇa donees specifically for the proper performance of the *pañcamahā-yajñas* which evidently included the *atithiyajña* or the feeding of the guests. The *atithiyajña* is distinctly specified among the five *mahāyajñas* in a similar land-grant from Maliya[22] (Junagadh in Saurashtra) of Dharasena II, the Maitraka ruler of Valabhī, dated

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A.D. 572. The Bagumra plates of the Sendraka chief Allaśakti[23] dated A.D. 656 and nearly half a dozen copper plates[24] of the early Calukyas of Gujarat, dated A.D. 686 to A.D. 739 and coming from the areas of Nasik, Surat, Navsari and Baroda, also record land-grants to Brāhmaṇas for identical purposes.

The continuance of *sattra* is attested by the Cambay Plates[25] of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV dated A.D. 930 in Western India and by the Gwalior Sas Bahu Temple inscription[26] of Kacchapaghāta Mahipāla dated A.D. 1093 in Central India. The *sattra* institution was also known in South India as is illustrated by its reference in the British Museum copper plate grant of the Eastern Calukya king Vīrācoḍa-Viṣṇuvardhana,[27] assignable to A.D. 1100 and the later Rajamundry Museum plates of the Telugu Coḍa Annadeva[28] from Annavaram.

It will thus be seen that the *sattra* which as atithiyajña or one of the constituents of the pañcamahāyajñas, started as a Vedic institution, obligatory to each Aryan householder, was transformed in later ages. From the beginning of the Christian era the *sattra* became associated with richly endowed temples and the Brāhmaṇas of Agrahara villages or those Brāhmaṇas who received land-grants for the performance of the pañcamahāyajñas. The best example of a *sattra* associated with a temple, which is attested both by inscriptions and visual representation, comes from Garhwa. The term *sadāsattra* used for it is quite significant and has survived in the institution of free feeding house known as *sadāvarta* meaning 'ever rotating' which is still maintained by some rich religious establishments at pilgrimage centres like Ayodhya and Varanasi.

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38

A New Temple-Type From Jageswar*

D.R. DAS

I

A small hamlet in the lap of the Himalayas, Jageswar (Almora District), is a well-known religious centre in the Kumaon region of U.P. The place is named after Yāgeśvara Śiva, who in his *jyotirliṅga* form is enshrined in a temple[1] of about the 8th century A.D.[2] In the compound of this temple, there are more than hundred other shrines of various dimensions and dates. About a kilometer away from the Yāgeśvara group there is another cluster of temples around the Daṇḍeśvara Śiva temple. Besides, individual shrines may be found here and there on the slopes of the hills surrounding the village. Most of these temples are dedicated to Śiva, while a few are Śākta in affiliation. On plan they are either square or oblong. All the oblong temples belong to the *Khākharā/Valabhī*[3] category. The superstructures of the square temples, however, are of different types. If the shape of the superstructure is taken as the basis for distinguishing one temple-type from the other, then four small shrines built on a square plan constitute a group by themselves. Three of them are in the Yāgeśvara temple compound and the fourth is standing in front of the Daṇḍeśvara. One of these four temples is the Nandi shrine of the Mṛtyuñjaya Śiva temple, which happens to be the second largest temple among the temples of the Yāgeśvara group. Of these four temples only one is a unichambered structure with an entrance doorway. The remaining three are of the povilion-type having four openings on their four sides. What brings these four shrines together in a single group is the common design of their respective superstructures. In every instance, it is like a four-sided dome. Its four corners incline inward

* Materials for this paper have been collected by Sm. Saswati Gupta with the assistance of Sri Amitabha Das and under the general supervision of the author. Fund made available to Sm. Saswati Gupta by the Indian Council of Historical Research and to the author by the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, created the necessary opportunity for a first hand survey of the temples at Jageswar. The Divisional Forest Officer, Almora (East), kindly permitted the members of the exploration party to stay in the Forest Bungalow at Jageswar. They also received all possible help from Sri Kesab Bhatta, Monument Attendant, while examining temples at Jageswar. Drawings are made by Sri D. Sarkar on the basis of the measurements supplied by the author.

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diagonally and thereby gradually reduce the dimension of the superstructure towards the top. It rises in two stages with a recessed frieze in between. Each stage is like a *cyma reversa* or an italic *S* in profile. The summit of the upper stage carries a square platform. On it is placed the crowning members of the temple. It is tempting to associate this type of superstructure with what is known as the *piḍhā* roof in Orissa.[4] In both the instances, the superstructure rises in tiered stages. In either case again, the tier is designed like a *cyma reversa*. But while in the *piḍhā* roof, the tiers though thin in relative proportion are deep and emphatic, in the Jageswar examples they are wide but shallow. In the former, the roof has a straight-edged pyramidal profile. At Jageswar the curvelinear contour is explicit. As a matter of fact, the Jageswar examples, so far as their superstructures are concerned, come closer to a variety of *Khākharā* temples of Orissa rather than to any other known temple types of India. They belong to the category No. 2 in Mitra's classification of Orissan *Khākharā* temples.[5] In these temples also the roof having an *S*-like profile rises in two tiers. Its four corners diagonally inclining inward gradually reduce its dimension towards the top. But all such roofs are rectangular in cross-section. Indeed, the rectangular superstructure is one of the basic features of the *Khākharā* temples. As the temples at Jageswar are square all through, it is doubtful whether they should be brought within the *Khākharā/Valabhī* category. Therefore, these shrines at Jageswar seem to represent a new temple type. For convenience's shake they will henceforth be referred to as Temple Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

II

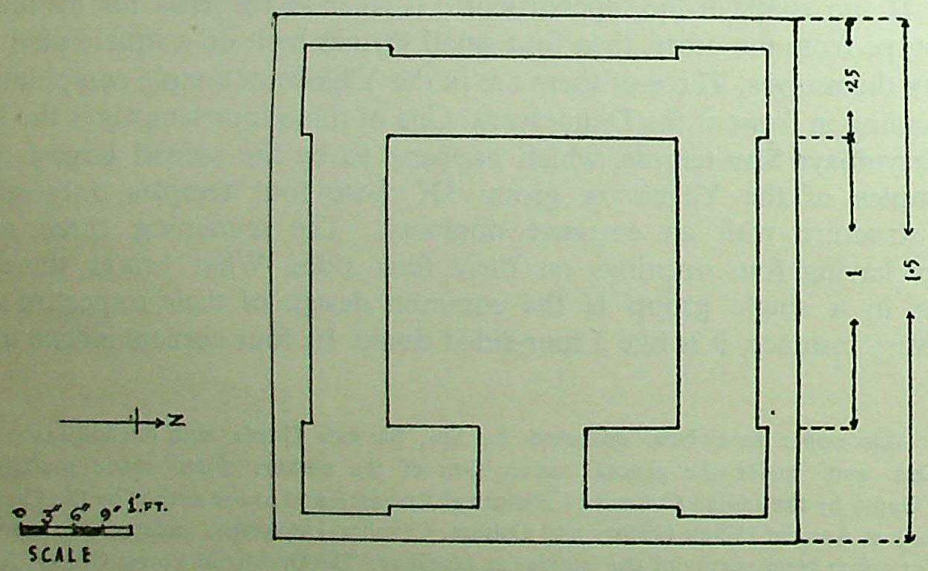

Fig. 1 : Ground plan of Temple No. 1 (Jageswar, Pl. 25)

It is an unpretentious shrine standing on the southern side of the Yāgeśvara. It rises to a height of only 2.50 meter. It is Śaiva in affiliation but the *liṅga*, which was

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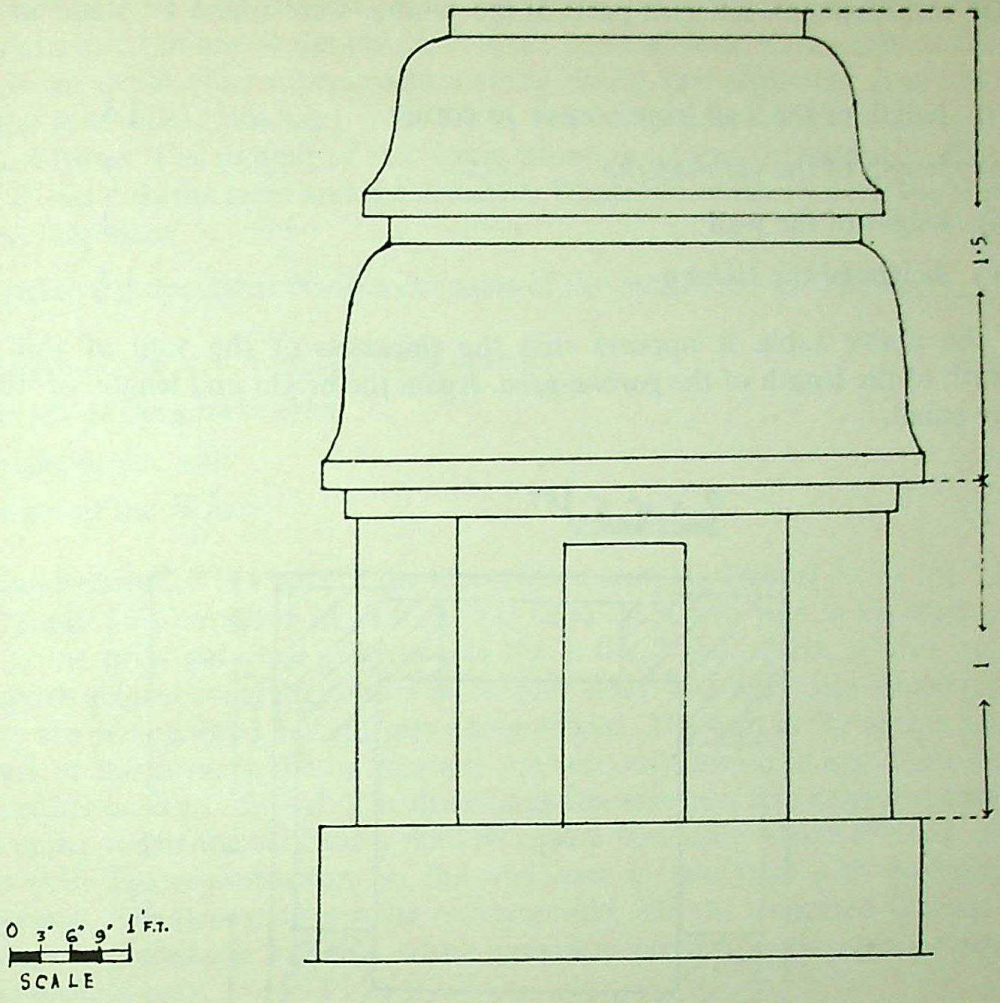

Fig. 2 : Elevation of Temple No. 1 (Jageswar, Pl. 25)

installed in the sanctum, is missing from the *arghya*. Among the group of four temples, it is the only shrine that has the sanctum cella closed on three sides and the entrance doorway on the east. Raised on a square platform, the shrine is also square on plan. Like the platform, the wall enclosing the sanctum cella is also plain excepting the shallow pilasters at the corners. The upper end of the wall has a fillet-like moulding. The doorframe is without the compliment of any decoration. Even the *lalāṭavimba* is absent from it. The four sided *śikhara* rises in two gradually diminishing stages. With a contour like *S* the stages are separated from each other by a narrow and recessed frieze. The top of the upper stage is truncated in order to support a square *vedi*. On it is placed the *mastaka*. At present the *vedi* is somewhat displaced with the result the *mastaka* is shifted a little away from the vertical axis of the temple. The much damaged *mastaka* is circular in cross-section in contrast to the square shape of the body of the temple. The *mastaka* has a *grīvā*, an *āmalaka* and a *kalaśa* which are placed one above the other. If a *dhvaja* was stuck in the *kalaśa*, it is now missing.

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On measurement, different parts of the temple were found to stand in following ratio :

(i)	length of the wall from corner to corner	.....	1.5
(ii)	length of the *garbha-gṛha*	.....	1
(iii)	height of the wall	.....	1
(iv)	height of the *śikhara*	.....	1.5

From the above table it appears that the thickness of the wall of this temple is one-fourth of the length of the *garbha-gṛha*. Again the height and length of the *garbha-gṛha* are equal.

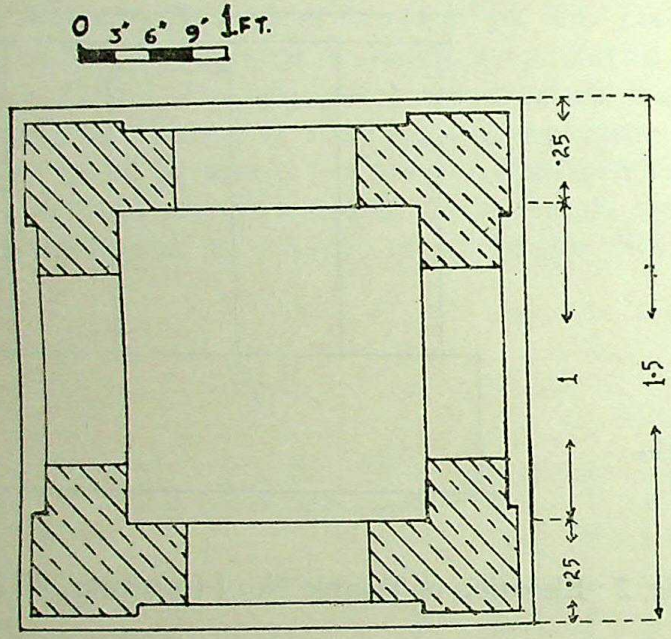

Fig. 3 : Ground plan of Temple No. 2 (Jageswar, Pl. 26)

This temple is standing on the right side of the door of the Yāgeśvara. Enshrining a *liṅga*, it is like a pavilion rising to a height of 2 meter. Its four sides are open excepting the door-frames and the corner posts. Square on plan it rests on a platform which is also square. The platform is relieved by three horizontal mouldings. Of these three mouldings, the one at the bottom is damaged beyond recognition. The second moulding is of the *cyma reversa* type. The moulding at the top is right angled. Above the platform, the temple rises in three sections, viz. wall, superstructure and finial. The wall has at each corner a projected pilaster. The base and capital of the latter are designed like a vase with over-flowing foliage. But a rectangular block, placed above the capital and separated from the pilaster by a narrow but deep passage, is severely plain. On the shaft, however, there are two rectangular panels decorated respectively with a highly stylized demonic face

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and a demi-lotus. The door-frame is set back from the plane of the pilasters. Its jambs and lintels are bereft of any sculptural decoration. The wall ends with a square moulding very shallow in depth. The superstructure rising above this moulding is a two tiered dome having four sides. The tiers with *S*-like contour are separated from one another by a recessed frieze. The summit of the dome supports a square platform. The finial placed on it has only the *grīvā* and the *āmalaka*. Whatever members were above it have disappeared long since.

The relative proportions of different parts of the temple are as follows :

(i)	length of the wall from corner to corner	..... 1.5
(ii)	length of the *garbha-gṛha*	 1
(iii)	height of the wall	 1
(iv)	height of the *śikhara*	 1

As Nandi-shrine, it is a part of the Mṛtyuñjaya temple. Temple No. 3 (pl. 27) The squatting Nandi Bull, installed in this shrine, faces Lord Śiva who in his *liṅga* form is enshrined by the principal *deula*. Like temple No. 2, the Nandi-shrine is also an open pavilion-type structure having four doors on its four sides. It is built on a square platform whose sides are not relieved by any moulding course. The wall of the shrine has post-like pilasters at the corners. These pilasters are not only devoid of any decoration but also have neither base nor capital. The doorframe likewise has no sculptural embellishment. The upper end of the wall has a shallow square moulding which extends over the pilasters as well. The superstructure on the wall rises in two tiers with an intervening recessed passage. The tiers show a *cyma reversa* profile. On the truncated summit of the superstructure is placed the *mastaka* which presently consists of the circular *grīvā* and the ribbed *āmalaka* only.

This temple stands in front of the Deṇḍeśvara and enshrines a *caturmukha liṅga*. It is like a small pavilion with four openings on the four sides. Its height, excluding the *mastaka*, is 2.25 meter. On plan it is square. Along the vertical axis, it is divided into four sections, viz. base, wall, superstructure and finial. The base or the platform is relieved by a succession of four horizontal mouldings which from below are *cyma reversa* and right angled alternatively. The wall has pilaster on its either end and plain door-frame in the centre. The pilaster has an undecorated square base and a similar capital. Its shaft is divided into two unequal halves by a fillet. Above the capital is a rectangular block which projects like the head of an architrave. Around the upper end of the wall runs a moulding which is very shallow in depth. The superstructure rising above it is two tiered. Each tier is like a *cyma reversa*. The upper tier is slightly smaller in height and somewhat reduced in dimension than the lower tier. A recessed frieze intervenes between the two tiers. On the upper tier is placed a square platform for supporting the *mastaka*. The *mastaka* has on its *grīvā* three *āmalakas* in a vertical sequence. Of these three *āmalakas*, the one at the bottom is the largest. The remaining two probably did not constitute the original part of the temple.

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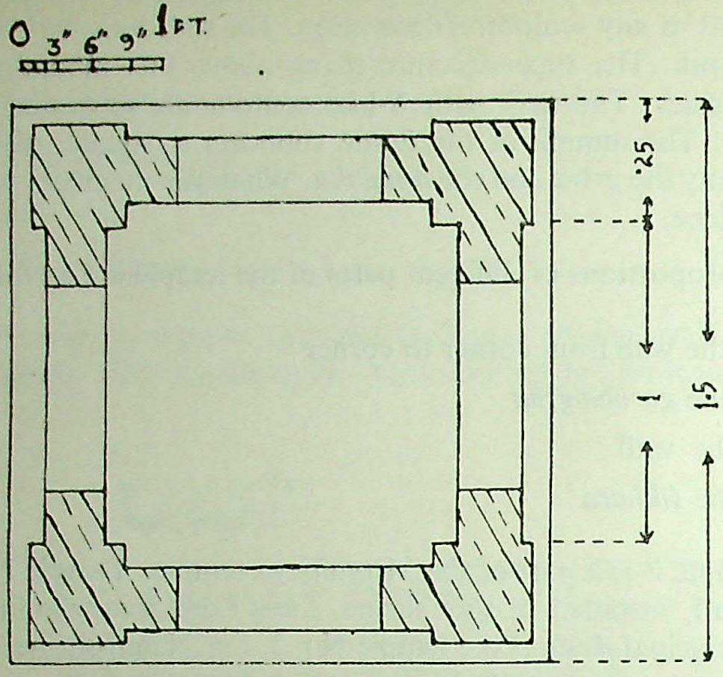

Fig. 4 : Ground plan of Temple No. 4 (Jageswar, Pl. 28)

In this temple the relative proportions of different parts of the structure were found to be as follows :

(i)	length of wall from corner to corner	..... 1.5
(ii)	length of the *garbha-gṛha*	 1
(iii)	height of the wall	..... 1.25
(iv)	height of the *śikhara*	 1

III

It appears from what has been stated above that the type the four temples at Jageswar represent was favoured particularly for raising open pavilion-like shrines of a very small size. Indeed, all the shrines with open sides at Jageswar are of this type. As noticed before, they are always square on plan and raised above solid platforms. The platform could either be plain or moulded. The mouldings were of two categories, viz. *cyma reversa* and square. Corner pilasters is a common feature of temples of this group. Another common characteristic is the fillet-moulding around the upper end of the wall. But the most distniguishing feature of these temples is the superstructure. It is a four-sided dome being divided into two tiers by a recessed frieze. The upper tier is always smaller in dimension than the lower tier. But in respect of height, the upper tier could either be smaller than or equal to the lower tier. A square platform surmounts the dome. On it is placed the *mastaka*. In only one example (Temple No. 1), the *mastaka* is

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found to consist of *grīvā*, *āmalaka* and *kalaśa*. In the others, nothing above the *āmalaka* is present.

It seems that these temples were built according to certain rules of proportion. In all the temples, of which measurement has been taken, the length of the exterior wall is 1.5 times the length of the *garbha-gṛha*. It makes the thickness of the wall ¼th times the length of the *gaṛbha-gṛha*. But the *śikhara* could be either larger (Temple No. 1) or smaller (Temple No. 4) than or equal (Temple No. 2) to the wall in height. In any event, the temple is always tall than it is wide.

None of the four temples bears any inscription to indicate the probable date of construction of any of them. However, the Nandi shrine (Temple No. 3), constituting a part of the Mṛtyuñjaya temple, may be considered as contemporary of the latter. Epigraphical evidence indicates that the Mṛtyuñjaya may be a temple of about the 8th century A.D.[6] Its Nandi shrine should also be of the same date. Decorations on pilasters of the Temple No. 2 seems to offer a clue to its dating. Of these decorations the vase and foliage design appers to have continued even after the introduction of Turkish rule in north India. But the demi-lotus motif was probably confined to a more limited period of time. In Orissa it disappears after 9th century A.D.[7] The same was probably the case elsewhere in India. As such, the Temple No. 2 may either be a contemporay of or slightly later in date than the Temple No. 3. In Temple No. 1, the relative proportions of different parts are almost identical with that of Temple No. 2. On this ground, Temple Nos. 1 and 2 may be placed within the same date bracket. But *kalaśa* in the *mastaka* section of Temple No. 1 makes one doubtful about the 8th/9th century dating of the latter. As a matter of fact, a cylindrical member rising in three sections, was found to be the crowning finial in all temples of Himalayan U.P. prior to the 10th century A.D. At Jageswar, both the Yāgeśvara and the Mṛtyuñjaya together with a few other temples are crowned by finials of this type. Unless the *kalaśa* on temple No. 1 is a later introduction, its dating before the 10th century A.D. does not seem likely. If the number of mouldings in the platform is any guide for dating a temple, then Temple No. 4 cannot be placed before the 9th century A.D. In all temples before that date, the platform or the lower part of the wall carried not more than three mouldings. But the types represented by the mouldings of Temple No. 4 were employed in temple architecture of India from a much earlier date. It may be pointed out in this connection that the composition of the pilasters of Temple No. 4 bears a striking resemblance with that of Temple No. 2. Only from the former the decorations are absent. On this ground Temple No. 4 may be placed after Temple No. 2 in the chronological scale. But the chronological gap between these two temples does not appear to be very wide. Therefore, the possibility of the four temples at Jageswar being built during the 8th-9th century becomes very strong. The near similarly in the relative proportions of different parts of the temples, subjected to measurement, also suggests their closeness in respect of the date of construction.

At present the four temples at Jageswar are the only known examples of their class. But further explorations in Himalayan U.P. may lead to the discovery of more

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such temples of varying dates and belonging to various stages of evolution. Only then the story of this order of temple architecture will be known in fuller details.

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2. Apart from the stylistic evidence, the dating of the Yāgeśvara temple during the 8th century A.D. is suggested by the palaeography of inscriptions on the small shrines built around it (see D. C. Sircar, 'Some Inscriptions from U. P.,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 253).
3. Each of these temples has a roof, which is elongated and barrel-vaulted. According to the definition of the *Bhuvanapradīpa*, an Oriya *śilpa* text, such a temple belongs to the *Khākharā* order (N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 81). The *Amarakoṣa* (Pūrva-varga, v. 15) indicates that a temple with a barrel-vaulted or semi-cylindrical roof was called *valabhī* (see D. mitra, 'Four Little known *Khakhara* Temples of Orissa', *Journal of the Asiatic Society* Vol. II, No. 1, 1960, p. 22). In the *Bhuvanapradīpa*, *Baḍabhī*, i.e. *Valabhī* is a sub-variety of the *Khākharā* order (Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 171).
4. Literally, *piḍhā* means flat wooden seat. In Orissa, a temple whose roof is constituted by gradually receding projecting mouldings is known as the *piḍhā deula* (Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 185). It has sometimes been identified with the *Phāṁsanā* temple of the *śilpa* texts (see J.M. Nanavati and M.A. Dhaky, The *Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, Ascona, 1969, p. 276 note).
5. Mitra, o*p. cit.*, p. 14.
6. D. C. Sircar (*op. cit.*, p. 249) places the inscriptions on the Mṛtyuñjaya and some other shrines in the compound of the Yāgeśvara temple between the 8th and the 10 century A.D.
7. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains of Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta etc., 1961, pp. 115 & 150.

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39

Mahaparinirvana of Buddha in Indian Sculpture—An Iconological Analysis

RATAN PARIMOO

We need not go into the whole question of the *stūpa* worship, but the question arises whether *stūpa* stood for Buddha's presence or for Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (i.e. achieving final extinction) in the case of actually constructed *stūpas*, miniature *stūpas* inside the *caityas* and their representation on reliefs at Barhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī. In any case it is noteworthy that in these reliefs *stūpa* worship is accompanied by musicians and dancers indicating rejoicing. Western scholars have rightly used the term 'Adoration of the *stūpa*' for such representations.[1] Buddha himself is said to have sanctioned erection of *stūpas* at the cross roads subsequent to the cremation (exhuming) of his body, a permission elicited after Ānaṅda had put this question while Buddha was at his death-bed at Kusinagara. He said 'whoever shall there place garlands or perfumes, or paints, or make salutation there or become in its presence calm in heart, that shall long be to them for a profit and joy.'[2] A *caitya* had been built in honour of Sāriputra after his death by the permission of Buddha. Anāthapiṇḍika had got it set up in the Jetavana of Srāvastī, according to the Tibetan *Kagyur*.[3] In the Barhut relief depicting the *stūpa*, it has been decorated with garlands. Aerial beings (*Kiṅnaras*) with human bodies and composite features consisting of bird's wings and legs, bearing in their hands garlands or flowers, hover over the *stūpa* (Pl.29). At the base, worshipping figures calmly stand or bow down with folded hands. There are two trees on either side which probably do not refer to the twin *sāla* trees between which Buddha reclined on a cot. As there are two more trees flanking the *stūpa*, they are to be understood as four trees on the four corners of a quadrilateral space.[4] In a Sāñcī relief portraying the worship of *stūpa*, people are wearing picturesque dresses and hair bands; they are dancing and playing on exotic musical instruments.[5] Although this portrayal again does not have any bearing to the legend of the passing away of Buddha, yet its delineation reminds of the following passage from the *Mahāparinibbana-sūtta*, according to which the Mallas of Kusinagara 'paid honour, reverence, respect and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes, and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decorative wreaths

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to hang their on...'[6] This sanchi relief is also noteworthy in delineating smiling and joyful facial expressions (Pl. 30).

However, the earliest episodic narrative of Buddha's death or *Parinirvāṇa* with recumbent Buddha in human form, might have been depicted by the Gandhāra as well as Mathura artists simultaneously. In several representations by the Gandhāra artists, in particular, the relief compositions at the base portions, are noteworthy where the wailing monks and Mallas collapsing with grief are portrayed in contrast to the rejoicing shown in earlier un-iconic reliefs. Thus the keynote in these representations is that of tragedy. The frequency with which this episode is depicted in Gandhāra between 2nd and 4th centuries is contrasted with the handful of reliefs of this subject in existence from the Kuṣāṇa period in Matura. Its frequency increases from the late 5th century at Sārnāth where it occurs at the top of such reliefs which consist of a group of four as well as eight *pratihārya* scenes. Even at Amarāvatī in a pillar relief of second century, showing the four episodes in ascending sequence, while Buddha in human form is represented for the enlightenment as well as the first sermon scenes, the *parinirvāṇa* is significantly shown in the shape of *stūpa* and not in the human form.[7]

It may be observed that the portrayal of the legend as known from canonical texts coincides with the introduction of Buddha's human image in sculptural art from the late 1st century onwards. The question that comes to mind is why the artists waited till then to depict the legend. Can it be then that the legend grew later. If already the doubts have been raised as how early is the text of *Mahāparinibbāna-sūtta*, are the dates of the sculptural reliefs to be put forth as evidence of when the texts were written ?[8] Hiuen T-siang had recounted essentials of the legend in the seventh century.[9] Pictorially speaking, the essentials of the legend are: Buddha asks Ānaṅda to be taken to the *sāla* grove of the Mallas at Kusinagara and to spread a couch with its head to the north between the two *sāla* trees which came to full bloom immediately by his presence. This is where he layed recumbent on the day he had predicted he would be obtaining *Nirvaṇa* and stayed there right through the night. This is where all the conversations with Ānaṅda and other events took place, culminating with final extinction. The events include wailing of the monks and Mallas, last minute conversion of Subhadra who achieved *Nirvāṇa* before Buddha himself came to the point of his final extinction, the arrival of sage Kāśyapa to have a last look at the Buddha's embalmed body, whose feet miraculously protruded out from the cloth wrapping.

The Gandhāra artist indicates the two *sāla* trees only by broad-leafed branches, the vertical tree trunks are not visible.[10] Tree spirits emerging from the foliage is another feature peculiar to Gandhāra reliefs. The recumbent Buddha is placed on the couch, who is invariably shown resting on his right side, right arm tucked under his head (Pl. 31). The frieze-like portion below the couch is very imaginatively used to reserve for the recurring motif of a hooded monk in meditation. Following Hiuen T-siang, scholars have identified it as the *bhikṣu* Subhadra who could not wait to see Buddha's passing away. Occasionally the artist also portrayed in this frieze a collapsing

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figure. The most creative example of handling the frieze below the couch is the one in which the action is beautifully choreographed, starting from the collapsing Vajrapāṇi (his *vajra* has fallen from his grip) through other wailing personages to the calmly meditating Subhadra[11] (Pl. 32.) Apparently, in this there is also the intention to portray the contrasting situations described in the text, according to which the *devas* who are free from passion bear the Tathāgata's passing away calmly and in a self-possessed manner, but *devas* in air, who are of earthly mind, disheval their hair and weep etc. This applied to Vajrapāṇi (or Indra) as hinted by Hiuen T-siang.[12] The Chinese version of Aśvaghoṣa mentions spreading of prayer mat for Buddha to rest on, which would not have allowed the crucial frieze-like space just below itself as a raised cot would provide.[13] Curiously, however, in the lower section of a Gandhāra relief from Los Angeles, a collapsing monk is represented beside the meditating Subhadra, in the space below the recumbent Buddha (Pl. 33.) His identification can be surmised since a grieving Vajrapāṇi is also indicated on the right hand side. Similarly posed grieving figure is also again represented in a Gandhāra relief from Chandigarh Museum (Pl. 34).

This collapsing monk represents Ānaṅda, Buddha's favourite disciple who stayed on with his master till the latter breathed his last. It is noteworthy that certain Gandhāra sculptors were also interested in portraying the weak moments of Ānaṅda as well. We gather from the *Mahāparinbbāṇa-sūtta*, not only Ānaṅda's predicament, who had put a series of last minute questions to Buddha, but whom a fellow monk, named Anuruddha, had also tried to console. Therefore, in the relief friezes, the other monk giving a helping hand to Ānaṅda would be the *Bikṣu* Anuruddha.

In the space above the Buddha's couch are portrayed groups of people with characteristic stereo-typed gestures, one stretching out both arms, one touching the head as if pulling out his hair, one closing his ears with both hands (Pls. 31, 33, 34).

These gestures follow too closely the next that I suspect that they are artists' inventions (or codes) to portray human grief at the time of someone's death. Other characters that the Gandhāra artists portrayed in the *parinirvāṇa* composition is the sage Kasyapa near the exposed feet of Buddha (in the Calcutta relief the feet do not seem visible making the lower hem of Buddha's robe appear too stark in the composition) and the variations of the grieving Vajrapāṇi (or Indra) among the grief-stricken group. *Parinirvāṇa* relief offers essentially a horizontal composition and amidst the despairing and gesticulating figures above and below Buddha's couch, his recumbent body appears to have passed into that state 'in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be'.[14]

In the earlier mentioned relief from Los Angeles there is an unusual feature among the group of the grieving figures. One of them is finding the tragedy so painful that he has bent his head right up to his knees. Yet another quality makes this Gandhāra relief one of the best of its class, is the way the recumbent body of Buddha is slightly turned and his left knee overlaps the right leg, giving the body a certain relaxed flexion, otherwise in most of the reliefs Buddha lies in a log-like stiffness. The penchant for the 'dramatic' on the part of the Gandhāra artists can be vouched by the variations thought

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out by them for the portrayal of the psychological reaction of the sage Kaśyapa, who in one relief bends down as he is overcome with emotion and holds on to the draped feet of Buddha. In several Gandhāra reliefs Kaśyapa lifts his right hand at the exposed feet of Buddha. Such narrative vignettes are entirely absent from the north Indian reliefs of *Parinirvāṇa* (Pl. 34).

Mathura artists portrayed the *parinirvāṇa* in a very small independent relief and in three other reliefs containing the four major episodes of Buddha's life, starting with the birth, and ending with the *parinirvāṇa*.[15] Each of *parinirvāṇa* depictions are identical as if following the same stereo-type, and since they do not reveal any process of change or elaboration they could all belong to late 1st or early 2nd century (Pl. 35). The gesticulating figures over the recumbent effigy of Buddha under whom is placed the meditating monk Subhadra, are very close to the Gandhāra reliefs discussed earlier (even the presence of the tree spirit amidst the foliage) so that one wonders whether the stereo-type was invented in Mathura and travelled to Gandhāra or vice-versa. In Gandhāra, on the other hand the character of Indra or Vajrapāṇi was incorporated which is conspicuously absent in the Mathura reliefs. Because of paucity of *Parinirvāṇa* reliefs in Mathura I am hesitating in insisting that the Mathura artist may have invented the compositional archetype of *Parinirvāṇa*.

The colossal relief at Ajanta cave 26 of the late 5th century is probably the largest representation of *Mahāparinirvāṇa* episode in live rock in India.[16] While it retains the basic composition of horizontally recumbent Buddha placed between the two *sāla* trees and narrow band of figures under his couch, it has other compositional differences, significant among which is the avoidance of the wailing and weeping crowd (Pl. 38). Thus there are no background figures crowding behind Buddha's cot grieving with gesticulating arms or collapsing postures. The size of recumbent Buddha is made enormous. His reclining body is not lying in a log like stiffness (as it was in the Mathura *Parinirvāṇa* reliefs) but in gentle flexions creating subtle undulations of volumes and planes. The volumes have the quality of weight as they appear pressing downwards (Pl. 37). The mourning monks and other lay persons are reduced to miniature size filling the narrow space under the cot, among whom can be recognized the meditating monk Subhadra wearing a cloak, on the analogy of the Gandhāran reliefs of the same episode, but interestingly enough shown from the back view, accompanied by his water pot hanging from the familiar tripod. However, the monk Kaśyapa (who should have stood near Buddha's exposed feet) and Indra holding *Vajra*, are not recognizable at all. A row of aerial beings forms the top row, all of them in leftward inclination suggesting a forward thrust and a focus towards Buddha's face, thus the only source for generating a certain amount of dynamic movement, within the essentially static composition. The hovering Buddha-like figure above the feet of Buddha on the right is a counterbalancing feature which is not mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa sūtta*. Could it be interpreted as the soul of departed Buddha, looking back towards the devotees with his reassurance gesture.[17] Another unusual feature is the seated Ānaṅda, Buddha's favourite pupil, who is contemplating and resting his chin on his right hand. It is the most expressive seated figure in the whole of Indian sculpture with a gravity as that of Rodin's 'Thinker'.[18] At

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this point the composition extends beyond the exposed feet of Buddha and the vertical trunk of the tree, adding further to its horizontality and, therefore, stability.

Although I interpret this seated figure as Ānaṅda, who was in constant attendence on Buddha during his last moments, it must be mentioned that on the analogy of the two *Parinirvāṇa* reliefs from Sārnāth in which Kaśyapa hugs on to Buddha's exposed feet, this figure could be the representation of Kaśyapa. But since this figure is enclosed into a separate niche like frame separating him from Buddha's exposed feet, it is certain that the artist did not mean it to be Kaśyapa. But the iconography of the *Parinirvāṇa* reached Ajanta certainly through Sārnāth just as it was the case with *dharmackra mudrā*. Indeed one of the Sārnāth reliefs (Pl. 39) could be taken as a sketch for the monumental Ajanta relief in that it turns into the mourning figures above and below into uniform rows thus reducing the element of tragedy.

The various unusual features as analysed above lead one to believe that the Ajanta sculptor was not adhering to the only known text of this last event in Buddha's earthly life, but very much depended on his own innovative capacity. In the Chinese version of Aśvaghoṣa is contained the description of Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*, not found in the original Sanskrit version. According to it, *devas* came to the earth from the heaven halting in mid air and the eight-fold heavenly spirits filled the space, who scattered flowers as their offerings.[19] This grandest of all *Mahāparinirvāṇa* reliefs must be considered a marvellous composition which united several events into one single moment though each is sequential or caused one by the other, like the passing away of Buddha and the consequential psychological effect on the mourners. This remarkable relief is the greatest example in stone of eloquence through silence. It replaces the mourning and tragic aspect which had been introduced by Gandhāra artists. Instead we have here a striving on the part of the sculptor to create a plastic equivalent of *nirvāṇa* of extinction of all desires, of a state of mind which is beyond any thought process, of eternal sleep, of passing into *śūṅya*.

Examples of independent representations of the final event in the earthly passage of Buddha are rather rare. Otherwise the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* scene inevitably finds its right place on top of the many *aṣṭa-mahā-pratihārya* stelae. Since the Sārnāth and Ajanta versions of late 5th Century, many changes in the mis-en-scene have occured. The mourning and wailing figures on the top tier of Mathura and Gandhāra reliefs and the rejoicing heavenly beings of the Ajanta *Mahāparinirvāṇa* have disappeared. In the relief discussed here, (which is in Indian Museum, Calcutta) *stūpa* is placed behind the recumbent Buddha on either side of which a new feature appears, that of clouds in the sky through which emerge a pair of hands on each side playing on cymbles and a drum. Buddha himself resting on his right hand side on a raised bolster, is stretched horizontally in a most confortable posture. His body is covered with a *saṅghati* whose transparency and "clinging the body" quality is suggested by engraved lines running around the volumes of the body. Under the narrow space below the cot an altogether different kind of trio of mourning figures are delineated, one resting his chin on his two hands which are in turn resting on his knee, the other is supporting his head with his

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left palm. In the middle is the back view of a mourner throwing up his arms as he looks towards the cot of Buddha. All these three are expressive figurative innovations of grief. This squating trio of mourning figures is often carved under the surmounting *Parinirvāṇa* section of the *aṣṭa-mahā-pratihārya* slabs during the Pala period. The illustration used here is that of a smaller version having similar composition but the top portion of which is broken (Pl. 39). There are certain other variations also. It too is in the Indian Museum.

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6. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (*si-yu-ki*), London, n.d. op. cit., has identified this scene with the Mallas of Kusinagara pages (ii) 66, 67.
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10. John Marshall, T*he Buddhist Art* of *Gandhāra*, Cambridge. 1960, Fig. 128.
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12. Beal, *loc. cit.* The problem of identification of Indra and his transformation as Vajrapani has been discussed by several authors and especially with reference to Gandhara reliefs by J. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, in *The Scythian Period*, Leiden, 1949, pages 137, 138.
13. S. Beal, *Life of Buddha by Ashvaghosha Bodhisattava*, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, from Chinese into English by S. Beal in Sacred Books of the East, Ed. by E. Wilson, Revised Edition, New Delhi, 1978.
14. Buddha said to Ananda, "...enough Ānanda, grieve not, lament not...there are *devas*, Ānanda, in the air, but of earthly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : Too soon will the Exalted One die. Too soon will the Exalted One pass away. Full soon will the light of the world vanish away." from Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Brewster, *op. cit.*, page 211.
15. P. Pal (Editor), *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, plate xv; Mode and Kucharski (Editors), Calcutta, *Great Centres of Art*, Leipzig, 1973, Fig. 115. The relief is in Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta.
16. A. De Silva-vigier, *The Life of Buddha*, London, 1955, Fig. 116.
17. I do realize that the question concerning the Buddhist conception of soul is a complex one, see Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thuoght*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
18. Illustration no. 15, Rodin, London, 1951.
19. Beal, *loc. cit.*

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Depiction of Temple on Visnukundi Coins

I.K. SHARMA

Among the minor antiquities obtained from the renewed excavations at the *Mahāstūpa* site in Amarāvatī, district Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, a circular coin assignable to the Viṣṇukuṇḍī dynasty from period-IV,[1] (*circa* third to sixth century A.D.) is most noreworthy. The inner core of the coin reveals a baser metal. A recent analysis of a large number of coins from Paunar, district Wardha, by K. T. M. Hegde, has shown that though superficially they looked as of corroded copper issues, the core turned up to be iron with copper or silver alloy or thin plating on the surfaces.[2] The present example also exhibits such corrosive nature with basal iron core but unlike other examples, this has clearer devices and the copper plating is still intact on both the faces.

The coin is a wholly cast example. The orifice of the mould is seen projecting beyond the flange and this determines the correct position of the coin. The edges, however, were not trimmed in this case, possibly to retain its weight standard. The weight generally corresponds to the *Kārṣapaṇa* standard,[3] (80-*rattis* or 146.4 grains = 9.460 gms.) and its minor proportions. The excessive rusting of the core, being of iron, often gives a heavier weight. This factor should be kept in mind before taking the weight, if not size, of these coins as granted for any discussion. Viṣṇukuṇḍis might be regarded as the first Indian dynasty to use iron, as a basic metal for coin manufacture.

1. *Physical Description of the Coin* : (Pls. 40-42)

Shape : Circular Field no. AMT/73-Regd. no. 44.

Metal : Iron core with copper plating on the surfaces.

Diametre : 19 mm. Weight : 6 gms.

Obverse : Maned lion to right mouth open, front left leg paw upraised; near the mouth, *Śrīvatsa* of the later double *yya* ⸝ tpye[4]; tail of the animal curled up ending in a bunch overlapping the border, the entire figure within a lined circle externally decorated with dots or beaded border.

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Reverse : Within a rayed circle a temple unit, shown in architectural perspective, consisting of a *dvitala vimāna* with circular *grīvāśikhara* topped by a *kalaśa* finial characterising the main sanctum; an oblong hall (*śāla*) with an inverted boat-like roof; an entrance porch distinguished by a plain-arch over an elevated *adhiṣṭhāna*.

This central device was flanked by two plough-shares at either ends, placed vertically.

A similar coin was reported from the citadel area of Dharaṇikōṭa, earlier by M. Rama Rao.[5] The coin is uninscribed and belonged to the well-known class of lion type assigned to the Viṣṇukuṇḍi rulers. The reverse was invariably taken by all the earlier writers as a vase (*kalaśa*), and the plough-shares were likened to the lamp-posts. Further in all the published works on Viṣṇukuṇḍi coins, the reverse of this type was illustrated in a topsy-turvy manner. This has lead the scholars, right from M. Elliot[6] down to the very recent writers[7] to regard the symbol as a vase amidst lamp posts or stands or even *triśūlas* basing on the preserved nature of the device.

The illustration (Photo-3) accompanying this paper makes it amply clear that the reverse has undoubtedly a temple unit shown in linear perspective. We shall describe its features in greater detail.

The complex appears to have three components—one behind the other integrated in an axial line. (1) The foremost is a porch. By its forward thrust at the lintel level it reveals a projected plain segmental-arch opening (*nāsikā*). The high sill line suggests an elevated basement. (2) This leads to a transverse rectangular hall, rather an oblong closed *maṇḍapa*, which has an inverted boat-like roof, the ridge of which looks like a heavy awning hiding the lower part of the unit behind. (3) The hindmost structure is the tallest and its superstructural part has a *vimāna* of perhaps two tiers (*dvitala*), carrying a circular *grīvā śikhara* with a *kalaśa* finial on top and hence of the *kūṭa* type. The topmost *tala* seems to possess bulls at the four corners or simple *grīva koṣṭhas* of which three are indicated. The sanctum was perhaps connected to its front *śala maṇḍapa* by a narrow vestibule. The main shrine might be a square on plan (*samacaturaśra*).

Brick built Brahmanical temple units with similar ground plants[8] were found at Śriparvata-Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley containing the images of Kārttikēya, Dēvasēna and also Śiva *liṅgas*. But their roof patterns over these square sanctums or oblong halls could merely be conjectured. The present coin device gives some authentic picture of the elevational grandeur of such units.

The two plough-shares (*hālas*), flanking on either side-ends of the central figure might stand for the guild, possibly of the *Citramēḷis*, who were perhaps invested with the right to mint[9] the coins.

Even though several scholars took these Lion type coins as Viṣṇukuṇḍi issues. Vidyaprakash[10] continued to assign them to the Pallava dynasty. C-Krishna,[11] who discovered a similar coin from Nagara, district Bhandara (M.S.), held the top *stūpi* as

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a *Liṅga*. Vidya Prakash,[12] though realised that the illustration of Kṛṣṇa's coin was upside-down, could not comprehend the nature of the symbol.

2. *Importance of the Depiction*

Depiction of a temple on the coins by the ruling kings was extremely rare. A lone group of tribal coins assigned to Audumbara[13] chiefs (First-Second century B.C.), revealed architectural depictions which resembled "storeyed superstructure and some kind of spine." J.N. Banerjea[14] says that they are "not *stūpa* but Śaiva shrines which must have contained images or phallic emblems of Śiva. These shrines were regarded as the earliest representations of a Hindu[15] Temple and bear a striking resemblance to the above Viṣṇukuṇḍī example.

Like Audumbaras, Viṣṇukuṇḍī rulers were devout worshippers of Śiva. It appears that King Gōvindavarman I, though a *Paramasaugata* originally, favoured Śaivism later on perhaps under the spell of Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II and was an active builder of temples (*Dēvāyatanas*), like Pallava Mahēndravarman I.[16] His son, mahārāja Mādhvavārman II (*Janāśraya*) was a powerful ruler who conquered Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, Vidarbha and Mahārāṣṭra.[17] He was a devout worshipper of Śrī Parvatasvāmin and this deity becomes the family god of Viṣṇukuṇḍīs from now onwards.

Indra Bhaṭṭārakavarman II (*Satyāśraya*) and Vikramēndravarman II, *Uttamāśraya* bore the titles *Paramabrāhmaṇya* and *Paramamāhēśvara* and vowed to worship no other God except Mahēśvara.[18] We do not get much information about Vikramēndravarman I, though he was the *Viṣṇukuṇḍī-Vākāṭaka Vaṁśa-dvayālaṁkṛtajanmanaḥ* but it is almost certain that the region of western Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Dakshiṇa Kōsala were under the Viṣṇukuṇḍī control during this period. Apart from inscriptional evidences, the coins afford a clearer picture. The ubiquitous evidence[19] of coins of Lion × Temple type, Lion × Conch or Cakra, in sites as far as Nevasa, Pauni and others in Vidarbha region, eastern Andhra sites (from Ramatirtham Sankaram in district Vishakhapattnam), Telengana areas of Karimnagar—Nalgonda, and the latest from Kesarigutta,[20] district Hyderabad, besides Yellēswaram and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa clearly speak of the vast expanse of the dynasty. Likewise the Bull Type, standing or couchant, with the reverse Conch or Cakra have also indicated a wider distribution pattern. Occasionally both the varieties were together found at Paunar[21] and Vidarbha[22] sites, also at Gurzāla, Yellēsvaram[23] etc. (only Bull × *Saṅkha* or *daṇḍa* types). The Temple device on the reverse was also seen rarely on some Bull type coins from Vidarbha and Prakasha,[24] district Dhulia. The greater number and varieties are notably from Vidarbha region rather than Andhra-Telengana.

3. *Who Issued These Coins* ?

In the absence of any legends, their specific assignment to a particular ruler remains speculative. M. Rama Rao, R. Subrahmanyam and others read a few letters like *vi*, *ma*, *kra*, *Vikrama*, *Karama*, *ndra* and so on and held that Bull and Conch or Cakra types were issued by Vikramēndravarman II.[25]

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The Lion × Temple issues appear to be the first among the Viṣṇukuṇḍī series and quite reasonably Mādhavavarman II, the most powerful among the early Viṣṇukuṇḍī rulers, deserves to be credited as the heralder of an independent coinage for the Viṣṇukuṇḍī dynasty. The Lion was their *lāñcchana* as seen from the earliest seals, *viz.*, the Tummalagudem plates (set-I) of Gōvindavarman I and Vēlpūru pillar inscription of Mādhavavarman II. Again it was Mādhavavarman II who altered this seal on the Ipur copper plates (I).[26] Here the seal was divided into two sections by horizontal line, the upper register depicted the *Śrīvatsa* in the centre, flanked by ploughs and the Kings name *Śrī Mādhava Vārmaṇaḥ* was also given in the lower register.[27] It appears, therefore, clear that Mādhavavarman II (*janāśraya*) first innovated the coin devices, by adopting the royal *lāñcchana viz.*, "Lion with raised-paw", from the seals and inscriptions (Vēlpūru), added the (Tummalagudem set-I) auspicious 'Śrīvatsa' in the obverse device, while the ploughs depicted on the seal of the Ipur plates-I, formed part of the reverse in combination with the temple of *Śrī Parvatasvāmī*, the deity of the *Viṣṇukuṇḍī-Vāṁśa* from now onwards. We may also logically presume that the Lion × Temple type was standardized some time after the issue of Ipur-I *i.e.*, after 37th regnal year of Mādhavavarman II.

The uninscribed Bull types (see note-22 below) couchant or standing to right with Cakra or Conch on the reverse (Paunar types) appear to be later issues. Vikramēndra-bhaṭṭāraka-Varman II, after the consolidation of the Northern territories[28] under the influence of Vākāṭaka and their close allies Bhāra-Śiva Nāgas of Padmāvatī,[29] issued another coin type based on the earlier local symbolism. These Bull types possess certain northern traits and are different from the Śālaṅkāyana[30] or Early Pallava miniature, less weighing, uninscribed Bull coins (lead and copper) which were closer to the later Sātavāhana types from Koṇḍāpur. Bull appears as the *lāñcchana* in the Tundi plates of Vikramēndra-Bhaṭṭārakavarman (II) Uttamāśraya. B. Chattopadhyaya,[31] however, holds an opposite view basing on Yellesivaram evidence and says that "The 'Bull' type coins are earlier, indicating that the origin of 'Lion' type coin can be put towards the end." The issuer of the type, however, is regarded as Vikramēndravarman I.

4. *Identification of Śriparvotasvāmī* :

It is of seminal importance to identify and locate the temple of this God. Śriparvata, according to the explicit epigraphical evidences,[32] is a hill within the ancient Vijayapurī, the capital city of the Īkṣvāku dynasty in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley.

The second Ikṣvāku ruler Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta was titled as *Śrī Parvatādhipatī*.[33] There need be no doubt as regards the location of Śrīparvata within the capital city of Vijayapurī.

The presiding deity (*Svāmi*) at *Śriparvata Vijayapurī* was Mahāsēna or Kārttikēya, the family deity of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The Viṣṇukuṇḍis likewise were devout worshippers of Śrī Parvatasvāmī and the true successors, both politically and culturally, to the Vijayapurī Ikṣvākus and upheld their traditions. Gōvindavarman I[34] is described as "the peerless Kaustubha gem in the centre of the necklace that is the succession of

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the earlier and later kings of Śrī Parvata (*Śrī Parvatēya purvāpara-kṣitipati-paraṁparā-hāra-mdhhyanirupama Virājita-kaustubhāyamāna-yaśōjanmanaḥ*). N. Venkataramanayya[35] has clearly shown that *Śrī Parvatāsvāmī* of the Viṣṇukuṇḍis was either God Śiva (*Sarvadēya*) or *Kāttikēya* or simply *Svāmi Mahāsēna*, the family god of Ikṣvākus. Inspite of these facts S. Sankaranarayanan[36] chose to say that Śrīparvatasvāmi was god Mallikārjuna of Śrī Śaila. Except literary, no other vestiges from this place substantiate this view nor any extant remains here could be taken to this period. While agreeing to the location of Śrīparvata at Nagarjunakonda, B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao strangely argues that Śrīparvatasvāmī was a form of Buddha-Nārāyaṇa, and Viṣṇukuṇḍis were Vaiṣṇavites.[37]

Several Viṣṇukuṇḍi coins of Lion × Temple as well as Bull × Cakra or Conch type were found in the post Ikṣvāku layers at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[38] as also ubiquitously at Yellēśvaram[39] excavations. The latter site rose to prominence during the Viṣṇukuṇḍī and early Cālukya periods.

En passant, we have least hesitation to identify this choice portrayal of a *vimāna* unit as a fine example of Hindu Temple on an ancient coin. That this temple was dedicated to either Mahāsēna or Sarvadēva, the *Śrī Parvatasvāmī*, the family god of Vijayapurī-Ikṣvākus. Incidentally this proves that not only the city of Vijayapurī retained its prominence, but also the several royal temples at this place, continued to enjoy the princely patronage under the Viṣṇukuṇḍī rulers as well, for at least two centuries, after the illustrious Ikṣvākus.

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2. Nearly 310-coins from Paunar were chemically analysed. The study is conclusive and revealed clearly that the base metal was iron with copper or silver plating over the surface. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII (1975), pp. 180-182.
3. Gurzala, Yelleswaram, Nevasa, Paunar specimens of the Lion, as well as Bull types reveal so. The Yelleswaram example range from *pāda Kārṣāpaṇa* (2 grns.) to *ardha* and full *Kārṣāpaṇa*, sometimes the weight is three-fourth of the *Kārṣāpaṇa*: or slightly in excess of a *Kārṣāpaṇa* standard due to rusting of the iron core which resulted in crackled and swelled surface as on Paunar specimens.
4. This form of Śrīvatsa could be seen on later Sātavāhana coins, particularly the horse types of lead assigned to Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi from Cuddapah and Anantapur districts. See E.J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), p. 25, pl. V-nos. 106, 111. Also in J. Allen, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, (London, 1936), Intro. pp. xxx, cxiii-cxx, nos. 50-51. V.V. Mirashi, and like him others deemed this as a letter '*Ka*'. Mirashi took the bunched hair' of the curled up tall-end as a '*Ya*' like symbol on the back. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. I, pp. 1-6, pl. IV-no. 4. The reverse is as usual shown upside down here also.
5. M. Rama Rao, *Vishnukundin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, A.P. Govt. Archaeo logical Series*, no. 10 (Hyderabad, 1963), p. 33. Also *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, p. 38.
6. M. Elliot, "Numismatic Gleanings" *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, (1857-58), p. 238, Pl. IX-no. 52. Also see his *Coins of Southern India, The International Numismata Orientalia*, III, Pt. II (London, 1885-86), Pl. II-nos. 49-50.
7. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII (1971), Pt. I, pp. 80-81, and pp. 126-127, PL. IV-no. 4. These are not certainly *triśūlas* as held by Mirashi p. 126, not lamp posts and our illustration makes the present identification clear.

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8. K.R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 20-23, 88 and 125.
9. Their *lāñcchana* was plough-share, and they declared themselves as *Śrīmad Bhūdēvī Putrasya* and connected with trade, temple building etc. M.D. Sampath, "The Chitramēḷi" in *Studies in Indian History and Culture, P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume* (Dharwar, 1970), pp. 314-319.
10. Vidya Prakash, *Coins of South India*, (Varanasi, 1968), pp. 34-42.
11. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, pp. 240-43, Pl. VII-no. 13.
12. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, 1 p. 44.
13. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, (1972), pp. 198-200, Figs. 1-6.
14. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (New Delhi, 1974), p. 118.
15. A.M. Shastry, in *Archaeological Studies*, I (Mysore, 1976) pp. 40-43.
16. While the Tummalagudem plates set-I (*Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. II, p. 98), clearly show Gōvinda-varman-I as a Buddhist, his sons Mādhavavarman-II of Ipur-set-I, calls him a *Śrīparvata Svāmi Pādānudhyāta*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 344, Pl. Line-1.
17. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I (Nagpur, 1960), pp. 193 and 241.
18. In their epigraphs Vākāṭaka kings except Rudrasēna II, were devout Mahēśvaras, *atyanta Svāmi Mahābhaīrava bhakta* or p. 236 *atyanta Mahēśvara*: etc., *CII.*, Vol. III p. 236, Mahārāja Bhavanāga of Bhāraśiva, the maternal grandfather of Rudrasēna I, carried on the shoulder the Śiva *liṅga*.
19. For a detailed discusssion of various aspects and distribution of these coin types and sequence see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "The Problems relating to the Vishnukundin Coins", *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, pt. I, pp. 67-78.
20. *The Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology*, I (Hyderabad, 1979), pp. 100-103, only Lion × Temple types were found. (*APJOA*).
21. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII (1975), p. 182;
22. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, pp. 164-168, Pl. IV nos. 6-8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I, pp. 80-83, and 126-127, Pl. IV-1, 4 on this coin P.R.K. Prasad read the letter *Vi* over the back of the Bull. But it is clearly *Śrī* laid horizontally.
23. R. Subrahmanyam, *A.P. Govt. Archaeological Series*, no. 8 (Hyderabad, 1962), pp. 45-48, Pl. XV. Waheed Khan, *Op. cit.*, p. 56.
24. *Ancient India*, Nos. 20 and 21, p. 130, Pl. C-no. 2. It is taken wrongly as Lion × vase with lamp stands. The dia. 16 mm. and wt. 4. 9336 gms. and obtained from an earlier level of period IV dated to early 6th century A.D.
25. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 38-41. Waheed Khan, *Op. cit.*, p. 56 and *A.P. Govt. Archaeological* Series, no. 8, p. 49.
26. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* I (Nagpur, 1960), p. 193.
27. The devise was referred to as a Vase or Svastika between lamp-posts and sun-and-moon above, *eg.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334-35, Pl. See also S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishnukundis and their Times*, (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 23-24.
28. O. Ramachandraiah, "Satavahanas and their Successors", *Journal of Madras University*, L-no. 2 (July, 1978), p. 77. There is a stimulating discussion on the geneology and chronology of Viṣṇu-kuṇḍis in the light of N. Venkataramanayya's (*JMU*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 July 1975) published lectures on Viṣṇukuṇḍins. O. Ramachandraiah, *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-76. Also S. Sankaranarayanan *Op. cit.*, pp. 13, 60-61, Vikramendravarman I is assigned 25 years of rule, A.D. 502-527.
29. H.V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati* (Gwalior, 1957) and also *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII (1971), Pt. I, pp. 24-28.
30. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of Satavahanas in Lower Deccan* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 64, 73. The bull type Pallava coins are different, see *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 12, Pl. XXXIX-B from Kanchi excavations. For Śālankāyana Bull type coins, See *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 213, Pl. I nos. 1-3; *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. I, pp. 42-43, Pl. II, Nos. 1-2.
31. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 79.
32. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, Second Apsidal Temple Inscription-F. "*Siri Pavate Vijayapurïya Puvadiśā bhāge viharē Cūladhamma girīyaṁ*". Also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 12. This unit was certainly last

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of Śrīparvata Vijayapurī. For other references to the city during Ehavala's time see two inscriptions dated in 8th regnal year (site no. 9), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 7-10. The monastery referred to in them is nearer to Vijayapurī itself, which is a fact. The Kumāranandī monastery inscription dated in the 24th regnal year of Ehavula Cāmtamula clearly states *Śrī Parvatē Vijayapuryāṁ* meaning thereby Vijayapuri proper itself at the *Śrī Parvata* area. This *Vihāra* complex was alike situated at the eastern gateway of the citadel.

33. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 52. The record is dated in the 24th regnal year of Śrī Virapuruṣadatta (I) who was the founder of the Ikṣvāku city of *Śrī Parvata Vijayapurī*. See my article in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, nos. 1 and 2 (Baroda, 1968), pp. 133-34.
34. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. II, p. 15. Third plate M. 26-27. V.V. Krishna Shastry basing on digs at Kesarigutta (district Hyderabad) thinks that Viṣṇukuṇḍīs succeeded the imperial Sātavāhanas in the Telengana region. This would lead to serious anachronism as the founding of the dynasty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍis cannot be earlier than the end of 4th century A.D. and these areas were partly under Ikṣvāku rule. See *APJOA*, pp. 100-103. Another queer suggestion is that the Rāmalingēśvarasvāmi temple at Kesarigutta is the family deity of Viṣṇukuṇḍīs, *ibid*, p. 101.
35. N. Venkataramayya, "*The Vishnukundins*" Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (Madras, 1675), p. 28.
36. S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Viśṇukundīs and their Times*, (New Delhi, 1977), p. 141, also see pp. 100-24, 31-44 and 205-210.
37. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra* (Guntur, 1973), pp. iv, 248-253. He contends that Buddha was considered as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu by this time which is not backed by any other evidences, except literary, whose dates are largely disputed.
38. Kind courtesy of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam from his unpublished chapter on Coinage of Nagarjunakonda Excavation Reports.
39. Abdul Waheed Khan, *A Monograph on Yelleswaram Excavations*, (Hyderabad, 1963), *IAR*, 1960-61, p. 3, 1963-64, p. 4, 1965-66, p. 4, pp. 55-57, Pl. XXXVI.

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41

Mahisamardini Images of Ancient and Mediaeval India

GOURISANKAR DE

The Mother Goddess, particularly in the aspect of Mahiṣamardinī, has an interesting background. A warlike goddess, resembling the Indian Mahiṣamardinī, dominated the religious life of the Mediterranean people in the remote past.[1] They vanquished a tribe who reserved their veneration for buffalo.[2] The goddess assumed the form of 'Mahiṣamardinī' out of this victory.[3] A Sumerian seal, preserved in the British Museum, depicts the scene of slaying a buffalo in front of the Earth-goddess Ninhursag.[4] This reminds one of the practice of sacrificial beheading of buffalo as a part of worship of Durgā Mahiṣamardinī in some parts of India in the past and even at present.

The cult of the Divine Mother, widely worshipped in Western Asia in ancient times, seems to have been widely prevalent in the pre-historic India as it is evident from the numerous figurines of the Mother Goddess found in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro.[5] The buffalo, as a very dangerous animal, also appears in some seal amulets discovered from the same pre-historic city.[6] Of course, it is difficult to determine to what extent the pre-historic culture of India contributed to the conception of the Mother Goddess of the type later known as Śakti. But there is no doubt that the cult of the great Mother Goddess was fostered by indigenous and aboriginal beliefs.[7] What raised the goddess to the status of Devī or the Mother par excellence was her exploits narrated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as the destroyer of the demon—Mahiṣāsura, Raktavija, Śumba and Niśumbha, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.[8] Through this aspect she fought her way into the orthodox pantheon.[9]

The different names of Devī—Ambikā, Umā, Durgā and Kālī—are quite absent in the Ṛgveda, though the conception of Śakti may be traced back to the Devī—Sukta.[10]

The names—Bhadrakālī, Bhavānī, Durgā, etc. appear only in the later Vedic texts like the *Sāṅkhyāyana* and *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, and in the *Taittirīya Araṇyaka*.[11] It is one of the *Durgāstotras* preserved in the *Mahābhārata* which first endows Devī with the epithet Mahiṣāsuramāsinī.[12] But, in the same epic Kārttikeya is represented as the slayer of Mahiṣa and it is probable that the episode of killing the Mahiṣa by Durgā was borrowed from the legend of the warlike god.[13] The *Mahābhārata* also once mentions Śiva as the destroyer of Mahiṣa.[14] Hence, it has been rightly stated that the destruction

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of Mahiṣa was ascribed by some to Śiva, by others to Kārttikeya and by another section of people to Durgā in different regions of India.[15]

The struggle between Durgā and Mahiṣāsura forms, the central theme of the *Devīmāhātmya*, the testament of Śākta philosophy,[16] preserved in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, probably compiled during the third century A.D. or earlier.[17] The *Devīmāhātmya* or *Caṇḍī* is supossed to have been added to the text by the sixth century A.D.[18] Bāṇa's *Caṇḍi-śataka* and Bhavabhuti's *Mālatimādhava* were probably inspired by this section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[19] The story of Devi's fight with the buffalo fiend was indirectly narrated in the *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and was borrowed by the *Devībhāgavata*, *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Vāmana Purāṇa* and other texts from the *Mārkaṇḍey* in the subsequent periods.[20]

Mahiṣamardinī was created, as narrated in the *Purāṇa* out of the flames which issued from the mouths of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and the other gods to kill the Asuras, particularly the buffalo demon Mahiṣa, who by practice of austerities had gained the power to drive the gods out of the celestial kingdom.[21] She was armed by the gods.[22] In each of her ten hands, Durgā held one of the god's special weapons or *praharaṇas* symbols of their divine power—Viṣṇu's discus, Śiva's trident, Varuṇa's conch-shell, Agni's flaming dart, Vāyu's bow, Sūrya's quiver and arrow, Yama's iron rod, Indra's thunderbolt, garland of snake from Śeṣa, and as a charger a tiger from the Himālayas.[23] Durgā ultimately killed the Mahiṣa with a spear.[24] The *Caṇḍī* or *Durgā Saptaśati* (seven hundred verses of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) thus describes the act : *samputpatya sāruḍhā tam mahāsuram pādenakrāmya kaṇṭhe ca śūlenainam atāḍayat* (pressing him down with one leg thrust her spear into his neck).[25]

Durgā, like her consort Śiva, had both her terrific or *Ugra* and placid or *Saumya* forms.[26] Mythologically, the most important of her terrific forms is the Mahiṣamardinī type.[27] But after she was established as supreme Deity, Devi or Durgā gradually outgrew her *Ugra* form.[28] Her benign nature prevailed and she was allied to Śiva as his bride.[29] Once accepted as a housewife, motherhood was ascribed to her and Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa were looked upon as her children.[30] It was this form of the Mahiṣamardinī which came to be the recognised iconic model of the composite clay image in the autumnal Durgā worship in Bengal.[31] The first specific reference to the modified form of Durgā, as worshipped in Bengal at present, occurs in the *Kavikaṅkan—Caṇḍī* by Mukundarāma who flourished in the sixteenth century.[32]

According to the *Śilparatna*, the image of Mahiṣamardinī should be shown with the head of the buffalo cut off, from whose neck emerges the *Asura*, with sword and shield in hand.[33] She binds the *Asura* with her *Pāśa* (a relic of the serpent cult) and is seated on her Vāhana Lion or she may be shown killing the buffalo demon.[34] The known images of Mahiṣamardinī can be classified according to the number of hands.[35] Eight and ten-armed varieties are common.[36]

The images of Mahiṣamardinī have been discovered in various parts of India—Bhumara,[37] Mahabalipuram,[38a] Gangaikonda, Solapuram,[38b] Ellora,[39] Madras,[40] Mayurbhanj[41], Mukhed (Hyderabad—Deccan),[42] Khajuraho,[43] Bhuvaneśvar,[44] Chhamba,[45]

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Gujarat[46] and Bengal.[47] One of the finest specimens is a piece not of Indian but of Hindu—Javanese sculpture, usually referred to as the 'Durgā of Leiden', as the image is preserved in the museum of Leiden, Holland.[48]

Probably, a terracotta plaque from Nagar near Uniyara, Ton District, Rajasthan, represents the earliest icon of the goddess.[49] The plaque, assigned by scholars to the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., is now in the collection of the Amber Museum.[50] Some miniature stone figurines unearthed at Bhita are a few of the earliest summary representations of the goddess, depicted either with two or four arms engaged in combat with the *Asura* in the form of a buffalo, having no other attendant and accessory figures.[51] One of the earliest images of the goddess is found carved on the facade of the cave shrine at Udaygiri near Bhilsā, where she is twelve-armed.[52] The medallions, found from the Gupta temple of Śiva at Bhumara (built in the first of the 6th Century A.D.) contain figures of gods and goddesses, including that of Mahiṣamardinī.[53]

Several reliefs in Mahabalīpuram exhibit the different phases of the combat between the goddess and the demon.[54] In one of them, the eight-armed goddess, accompanied by several attendants (these are exact reproductions of Śivagaṇas, dwarfish and pot-bellied in appearance), is shown as engaged in struggle with the *Asura* and his retinues.[55] In others, she is depicted as standing on the severed head of the demon, holding in her eight hands various weapons of war as well as *Cakra* and *Śaṅkha*, indicative of her Vaiṣṇavite features.[56] The greater part of the work on the cave temples, at Mahavalipuram was probably executed early on the seventh century.[57]

Figures of Mahiṣamardinī are frequently met with in Gujarat.[58] A 12th-century old temple at Sunak is dedicated to the goddess and her figures are sculptured on the walls of the shrine.[59] Two other icons of the Devī, one of marble and the other of Sandstone, are lying about the temple.[60] The figure from the back niche of the shrine stands in tribhaṅga pose with her right leg on a lion, and the left on a buffalo, whose head is cut off.[61] She appears to be either eight or ten-handed.[62] In the right hands, she holds a *khaḍga* and long *triśūla*, in the left a *kheṭaka*; the rest of the emblems are not clear.[63] The representation has its local touch.[64] The niches in the Śiva-shrine of the Trimurti Mandira at Kasara contain figures of different gods and goddesses, including a figure of Mahiṣamardinī.[65]

A fine bronze figure described as Lakṣaṇa in the pedestal inscription was discovered by Vogel in Chamba, one of the former hill states of northern India.[66] The goddess is depicted as driving the trident into the neck of the *Asura* who is being pressed down by one of her legs with the tail being held in one of her hands.[67] This attitude, partly present in one of the Bhita reliefs, exactly corresponds to the description of the *Caṇḍi*.[68]

In the Khajuraho temple museum, there is a six-handed image.[69] Her first two hands are broken, the third one is raised holding a sword, shield (*kheṭaka*) and bow in the next two hands, and with the sixth she is holding the leg of the demon whom she has upturned and whose head lies buried under its own body. An eight-handed image holds

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spear, *pāśa*, sword, bell, and shield (*kheṭaka*).[70] The goddess thrusts the spear into the body of the demon.[71] Her fifth and seventh hands are broken.[72] A twenty-handed image of the goddess carries cymbals in her uppermost left and right hands, all the remaining eighteen hands are broken.[73] From the neck of the buffalo whose head has been cut off appears the *Asura* whose head is broken.[74]

In Causath yoginī, there is a twenty-handed image of the goddess carrying sword, shield and hoops-rest are broken.[75]

A Mahiṣamardinī image was represented on the northern *rāhā* of ṭhe Parasurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśwar.[76] The image is now missing.[77] But there is a miniature image of the same goodess in a small niche in the same temple.[78]

The *Pīthanirṇaya*, probably prepared in the late mediaeval period, mentions Karavira Sarkarara or Karavirapura, usually identified with Sukkur, the chief city of the district of that name in Sind, as a Śāktapitha where fell the *trinetra* of *Satī* and the goddess there is named Mahiṣamardinī with *Krodhisa* or *Krodhesa* as her *Bhairava*.[79] A later text mentions Vakreśvara of Bengal as a *pīṭha* where also the deity is Mahiṣamardinī.[80]

Bengal, or rather eastern India in general, was the homeland of the Śākta cult and it is natural that varieties of the Devī icons, including the Mahiṣamardinī images, should be found there.[81]

A small bronze image of a female deity with something like a mirror in her left hand and an indistinct animal (lion?) on the pedestal as her vehicle has been unearthed while excavating the Khanā Mihirer-Dhipi at Chandraketugarh.[82] The figure has been assigned to the late Gupta period.[83]

A splendid and remarkable six-armed image of Devī with an inscription written in the 7th century script, acquired by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, hails from Gangarampur, Maldah.[84] The image is made of gray sandstone and possesses the majesty and grandeur of the Śaiva panels of Elephanta.[85]

An interesting stone image of the ten-armed goddess slaying the *Asura* was discovered at Dulmi in the district of Singbhum.[86] The image is bow preserved in the India Museum, Calcutta.[87] The goddess is depicted in *pratyāliḍha* pose with her right and left legs planted firmly on the lion and the buffalo respectively.[88] She holds in her ten hands different weapons : *triśūla*, *kheṭaka*, *ṭaṇka*, *sara*, *khaḍga*, *dhanu*, *paraśu*, *aṅkuśa*, *nāgapāśa* and *sucīmudrā*.[89] There are two chowry-bearing male figures on her either side.[90] The goddess is depicted as if enshrined in a *rekha deul* with *āmalaka* and *kalasa* on the top.[91]

J. D. Beglar mentions a life-size sculpture of the eight-armed Durgā slaying the Mahiṣāsura.[92] He found the image in the ruins of a brick temple at Budām.[93] Beglar writes : 'This is the finest piece of sculpture in the place, and fully equals in every respect the similar sculpture at Dulmi, and is a close approach to the sculptures at Lakhisarai; it is in excellent preservation; its age I consider to be the same as of the Dulmi sculptures; it is in better preservation than the sister sculpture at Dulmi."[94]

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An extremely rare image of Nava-Durgā, recovered from Porsha, Dinajpur, consists of nine figures of Mahiṣamardinī, one depicted as the central piece, with eight other miniatures clustered round it—five in the top part of the stela, two on either side, and one on the middle face of the *saptaratha* pedestal.[95] The central figure has eighteen arms, others are sixteen-armed.[96] The head and the trident-bearing right hand of the former are missing, the remaining right hands hold elephant-goad, thunderbolt, chisel, stick, mace, discus, arrow and sword, while the left hands have the *tar-jani-mudrā*, the tuft of hair of the demon, shield, bow, flag, kettle-drum, mirror, bell and *nāgapāśa*.[97] The image represents the goddess as described in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[98] The central figure is, according to the same Purāṇa, Ugracaṇḍā, the other eight are Rudracaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Candogrā, *Candanāyikā*, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍāvati, Caṇḍarūpa and Aticaṇḍikā.[99] R. C. Majumdar rightly observes : "The whole composition, in spite of the multiplicity of the hands and the vigorous action of the figures, shows a dignified balance."[100]

The late S. K. Saraswati collected a remarkable and unique image of the goddess with thirty-two hands from Betna, Dinajpur.[101] The figures of Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are carved above the head of the main figure.[102] The presence of five figures above the head of the central figure reminds one of the five *dhyānī* Buddhas of the Mahāyāna cult.[103] Similarly, the presence of eight figures around the central piece in the Nava-Durgā image recalls the composition of the Arapacana Mañjuśrī image.[104] Probably, the composition of these types of Mahiṣamardinī were influenced by the Vajrayāna Buddhism.[105]

A chlorite Mahiṣamardinī, possibly belonging to the ninth century A.D., hails from Deulghata, Buḍām, in the Purulia district and is now in the collection of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.[106] In the possession of the same institution, there is an image of the goddess (gray sandstone), probably belonging to c. 9th-10th Century.[107] The image hails from the village Sarai, Hooghly.[108]

The present writer has discovered an image (Pl. 43) of Mahiṣamardinī (basalt) from the village Amarkandi, North, 24-Parganas.[109a] The figure (22″×10″) is eight-armed. In the right hands, the goddess holds sword, *nāgapāśa* and spear, the lower part of the spear and the fourth hand being broken. In the left hands, she holds discus, bow, and the tuft of hair of the *Asura*, the weapon of the third hand being indistinct. The right foot of the goddess is planted upon the lion, very small in comparison with her figure and the left foot upon the buffalo from whose severed head emerges the demon with a sword in hand. There are two male figures on either side. The pedestal represents a full blown-lotus finely carved bearing the figures of two seated devotes on the left corner. Avove the head of the goddess is the *kīrtimukha* and there are two flying *gandharvas*, holding garlands. On the stylistic ground, the image may be assigned to the Pāla period. The Amankandi image closely resembles the eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī of Tangibadi, Dacca (Bangla Desh).[109b]

There is a ten-armed Mahishamardinī image (stone) in the sanctum of the Bahulādā temple, Bankura.[110] There are two stone images of Mahiṣamardinī in the Sarvamaṅgalā Devī's temple at Naricha, Bankura.[111] The first figure (2-1″ ×1-9″) is eight-

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handed and is an excellent piece of sculpture.[112] The second image (2-8" × 1-5"), now worshipped as Sarvamaṅgalā is eight-armed.[113] The head of the figure is broken. Both the figures belong the Sena period.[114]

A black-stone ten-armed image of Mahiṣamardinī was discovered at Sakta (Dacca).[115] The image has a pedestal inscription describing it as 'Śrī-Māsika-Caṇḍi' in characters of the 12th-Century A.D.[116] The figure is similar in its composition to the Dulmi image, having minor variations.[117]

Two or three stone images of Mahiṣamardinī were found from a mound, called 'maṭhbādi', in the southern part of the 24-Pargans.[118] There is a metal image of the four-handed Siṁhavāhinī with the usual emblems in four hands, in the collection of the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta, the *Asura* is placed below the deity with sword in hand. The height of the image is 6-11"/16."[119] An old image of the goddess (basalt) was found from Magra in the Hooghly District in November, 1979.[120] A specimen of twelve-armed variety in metal was collected from Kesavpur, Dinajpur.[121] Two specimens of eighteen-handed Mahiṣamardinī hail from Vakreśvara,[122] Birbhum, Panighat and Khulna (Bangla Desh)[123] respectively. The distinctive feature of the Vakresvara image is that the goddess is surrounded by other fighting goddesses.[124] Recently, this image has been discovered from a tank along with the plinth of an old temple.[125] Incidentally, Vakresvara is one of the Śakta *piṭhas* the deity of which is Mahiṣamardinī.[126]

An image of Mahiṣamardinī (ht. 5"), belonging to the 11-12th century and carved in low relief on a square-sized stone-slab, was found from Harinarayanpur, Howrah and is now preserved in Anandaniketan Kīrtisālā, a local Museum in the village Nabasan, Howrah.[127] There is a ten-armed stone image of Mahiṣamardinī (18" × 8") in a *pañcaratna* (five-pinnaled) temple at Budośivtalā, Nadiaī.[128]

The discovery of a large number of Mahiṣamardinī images, conforming to the description of the *śastras*, yet displaying variations and several iconographic characteristics, undoubtedly prove the great popularity of Devī in her Mahiṣamardinī aspect over a large part of ancient and mediaeval India. In fact, this goddess, in an elaborated form, is still popular in Eastern India.

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42

A Brass Lamp From Nepal

S.S. BISWAS

The Museums' Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has recently acquired a brass lamp (Pl. 44) of considerable interest. Measuring 17 cm. in height it is designed in the shape of an elongated pot and placed on a round pedestal. The bottom of the pot is broad and shaped like a fully blown lotus with two rows of lotus-petals embossed on it. The middle section of the pot is concave and relieved with a series of vertical ribs. Its shoulder shows two bands of floral patterns with a beaded string in between. The long neck of the pot is divided into two halves by a taurus moulding around its centre. The lower half is decorated with drooping petals of lotus. But the upper half is severely plain. The mouth of the pot has a flaring rim which does not leave any place for a spout. The handle of the pot is ingenously designed like a serpent with five hoods. The body of the serpent has been waved for providing firm grip. Its five hoods, to the mouths of which are attached rings for suspending tussels, are raised in an orderly fashion over the anthropomorphic figure of a *nāga* king (Pl. 45). The transition from the *nāga* coil to the human figure is craftily concealed by a flower-like citron which has been tied to the waist of the *nāga* king. This design of the citron creates the impression that the *nāga* king emerges from a flower. He wears a crown while two large-sized studs are attached to his two ear-lobes. He is further adorned by a heavy necklace, armlets and bangles. A drapery having a stylised character is thrown over his shoulders. Its two ends curl round his arms. Shown in *añjali-mudrā*, he holds in his two hands a conch-shell with its spout turned downward. The way of placing the conch-shell in his hands suggests that the *nāga* king is in the act of performing *saṅkhārgha*. Fitted to the neck of the pot by a copper pin is the lamp pan which is also provided with a bracing from below. The bracing takes the shape of a beautiful damsel (Pl. 46) reminding one of the exquisite bracket figures of the ancient monuments of India. The damsel stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose on the foliages of a flowering tree. Two leafy creepers of the tree moving upward border her from the two sides. Her two hands are raised in the gesture of supporting the lamp from below. Well proportioned and gracefully modelled, the damsel is endowed with all the charm of an Indian *nāyikā*. The restrain shown in adorning her body, which is bare above the waist, with

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ornaments allows an unhindered appreciation of the elegance and daintiness of this youthful figure.

The lamp, however, acquires a most significant character on account of the presence of an interesting figure (Pl. 47) of divine character at the base the of pan. The composition shows a lotus pedestal on which a multi-handed male deity stands in the act of trampling or riding on Gaṇeśa. From two vases flanking him from behind issue foliages which curving inward from his two sides converge above his head and thereby serve as the stela for the deity. One faced and terrible in appearance the deity stands in the *pratyāliḍha* attitude. He has eight hands of which the principal right and left hands carry the *kartṛ* and *kapāla*, respectively. In the remaining right hands he holds the following attributes anti-clockwise : sword, bow and arrow. The corresponding left hands hold respectively shield, trident and *vajra*. Gaṇeśa lying prostrate near the feet of the god raises his right hands probably in the gesture of despair and holds the *modakabhāṇḍa* in the left hand. His trunk is touching the *modakas* in the pot. The mouse mount of Gaṇeśa in the attitude, as if, of running away are shown on either side of the base of the lamp pan. The significance of the decorated flower-stand on their back is, however, not clear.

The sectarian character of the above-mentioned composition is apparant from Gaṇeśa being placed at the feet of the deity. The origin of this composition may have some connection with a Nepalese legend which contains the following account :

An Oḍiyāna *Paṇḍita* was performing *tāntric* rites on the Bāghmati river near Kathmandu in order to obtain *siddhi* (perfection). As Gaṇeśa was strongly opposed to this way of achieving *siddhi*, he began to throw dangerous obstacles in the way of the due performance of those rites. The *Paṇḍita* finding himself invoked the god Vighnāntaka, the destroyer of all obstacles, for restraining Gaṇeśa. Vighnāntaka appeared in a terrible and fierce form, armed with destructive weapons and crushed Gaṇeśa who fell prostrate under his feet.[1]

On the basis of this legend the deity on the lamp may be identified as Vighnāntaka. His inconographic description has been given by the *Sādhanamālā*[2] in the following way :

"*Ātmanaṁ pratyāliḍhapadasthitaṁ ekamukhaṁ dvibhujaṁ nīlavaraṁ vamakareṇa tarjanikāpaśam, dakṣiṇakareṇodyatavajraṁ bhayānakaṁ pingalordhvakeśaṁ Vighnāntakasādhanaṁ.*"

'The worshipper should conceive himself as (Vighnāntaka), who standing in the *pratyāliḍha* pose is one faced, two armed and blue in colour. He carries in his left hand the *tarjanīpāśa*, and weilds the *vajra* in the right. He is terrible in appearance and his brown hair rises upwards. His seat is on the orb of the sun placed on a lotus.'

The absence of Gaṇeśa from the composition of Vighnāntaka as described by the *Sādhanamālā* is difficult to explain. However, the present image indicates that the image-makers followed the legendery description rather than the description of the *Sādhanamālā* in fashioning the image of Vighnāntaka.

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The association of Vighnāntaka with the lamp has possibly been inspired by the idea that both are the remover of obstacles. The lamp, which symbolises the light, stands for the dispeller of darkness and destroyer of the demon of all evil deeds. Vighnāntaka similarly destroys the obstacle (*vighna*) which is here supposed to be the Hindu god Gaṇeśa whom he tramples under his feet, according to the Nepalese legend.

The lamp placed in front of the image of Vighnāntaka allowed the worshipper to pay his respect to the god by lighting the wick in the pan. The pot to which the lamp is fitted was meant for containing oil. Similar pots with a lamp attached to each of them may be found even today at the doorways of the Buddhist *Gumphās*. Before entering the *Gumphā*, devotees are expected to take oil out of the pot with a laddle tied to it by a chain and pour it into the lamp-pan for making the lamp burning constantly. Such an offering of oil is considered as a pious act by the devout Buddhists of Himalayan India, Nepal and Tibet. It is, therefore, evident that the present lamp originally belonged to a Buddhist monastery of any of these regions, and more precisely from Nepal as is evident from the form and style of art.

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43

Transmission of an Iconic Motif

D.C. BHATTACHARYYA

Of the numerous deities of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhism, the goddess Cundā, a manifestation of the supreme goddess Tārā, occupies a very prominent position. Images of this deity are known from the examples of Buddhist art not only of India, but also of that of Nepal, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Japan, and Korea.[1] The antiquity of the origin of the concept of this godess can be traced back to the initial stage of the formation of the pantheon as the references to her in the early works like the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*[2] and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[3] would indicate. A number of iconic forms of this goddess could be seen in her representations,[4] although the prescriptional support for all of them is not available in the so-far explored texts. The most common of the forms is, however, the one in which the goddess is shown in her four-handed manifestation. Of the few varieties of her four-handed images, one, which dominates over others not only in the numerical strength but also in spatial distribution, deserves our attention.

The images of the iconic form concerned show the goddess usually seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* with her principal pair of hands disposed in the *dhyānamudrā*, and sometimes, holding a vase or a bowl in the hands thus placed on the lap. The additional right hand is shown with a rosary in it, while the left-hand attribute is a book or a manuscript. It is surprising that, although many images with the above-mentioned iconographic formulation are known,[5] particularly from eastern India, the well-known texts on Buddhist iconographic prescriptions maintain mysterious silence on this particular iconic form. The absence of any reference to this form in this texts like the *Sādhanamālā*[6] or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*[7] which seem to record the major developments of iconography taking place till the middle of the twelfth century, is no doubt unexpected, more so because the sculptural rendering of the form could be seen in the 8th-9th century art of Ellora.

The lack of prescriptional support for this form of the goddess Cundā has not, however, posed much problem in its identification. The clue to its identity has been supplied by the inscriptional labels attached to the pictorial representations of the form seen in the two celebrated manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpārmitā*, one (No. Add. 1643) preserved in the Cambridge University Library, and the other (No. A. 15) in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.[8]

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The plastic and pictorial representations of this iconic form of the goddess Cundā show the following pattern of spatial distribution :

Ellora : stone images
Bengal : stone and metal images
Bihar : metal images
Orissa : stone images
Nepal : stone, metal, and painted images.

Two things are clear from the above : (i) earliest examples of the form are known from Ellora, (ii) the iconic form particularly very popular in eastern India.

The chronological priority of the examples of images of the form from Ellora probably does not have much bearing on the origin of the iconic motif. The Cambridge University Library manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, dated A.D. 1015, has an inscription attached to the pictorial representation of the form, which reads : *Lāṭadeṣe vuṁkāra nagare cundā*, meaning, (the goddess) Cundā of the city of Vuṁkāra in the Lāṭa or Gujarāṭa country. An identical inscription[9] is there in the Asiatic Society manuscript of the same text, deted A.D. 1071. These inscriptions thus indicate that this form of the deity was famous in Lāṭa, i.e., the Gujarat region, and that the fame was established before the beginning of the eleventh century, and, moreover, that the fame reached eastern India to be recorded with visual and literal documentation. The manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, mentioned above, contain many other illustrations of images of various forms of deities with inscriptional labels which, in each case, refer to the regions or places connected with the respective forms of the deities.[10] In this manuscript, there are two illustrations of the goddess Cundā (Pl. 7), one showing her four-handed form, the other representing the goddess with sixteen hands. According to the inscriptional labels, the former is associated with Lāṭadesha or Gujarat, as we have already pointed out. The other one is associated with a place called Paṭṭikera,[11] identified as the Mainamati region of the Tipperah district of Bangladesh. It seems likely that these two forms of the same deity originated respectively at the above-mentioned places : the former in the Lāṭa or Gujarat region, and the latter in the Tipperah district of Bangladesh. In fact, the relevant *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts seem to perpetuate the record of the origin of some of the famous forms of various deities of the Buddhist pantheon. This point can be proved on sound evidence. But we cannot afford entering into that discussion here.[12]

Although there is every possibility that the relevant four-handed form of the goddess Cundā originated in Lāṭa or Gujarat,[13] it is surprising that from this place no image of the type has so far been known. But the lack of iconic remains of the type from Gujarat proper has partially been compensated for by the evidence of the sculptured representations of the iconic motif from Ellora. The historical relationship between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara Pratīhāras, particularly in the trail of events of the Tripartite Struggle, is known to all of us. The possible travel of the iconic motif concerned from a region belonging to the Gurjara Pratīhāras to one within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory cannot, therefore, be ruled out.

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In the trail of the Tripartite Struggle itself, some of the cultural traits from the Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa regions might have also reached eastern India—the domain of the Pālas, the other party of the historical struggle. According to the Nesari plates of Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, the latter snatched away from the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla his royal banner of *Bhagavatī Tārā*.[14] It is interesting to note that it is recorded in a Nepalese Buddhist manuscript entitled *Cundāvadāna*[15] that one of the captives from the army of Dharmapāla, when released from the camp of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king ((probably Govinda III), brought home a unique thing, i.e., the *Cundā-dhāraṇi-mantra* which was revealed to him in the dream during his stay in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison.[16] It is possible that this army officer imported to eastern India not only the *Cundā-dhāraṇī-mantra*, but also the relevant iconic form of the goddess. In other words, the above evidence, taken together, would point to the possibility of the transmission of the iconic motif concerned first from Lāṭadesha or Gujarat to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory and thence to eastern India—the domain of the Pāla rulers.

But the possibility of the introduction of the goddess, more precisely her four-handed form under discussion, in eastern India direct from Lāṭadeśa or Gujarat, the possible place of its inception, cannot also be ruled out. According to the Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon, a prince named Silabāhu who inherited the kingdom of Vaṅga from a maternal ancestor, renounced his claims in favour of a relation, and built a new city in the kingdom of Lāta which came to be known as Sīlapura.[17] The new metropolis has been identified by some scholars with Sihor in Kathiawad, and the territory in which it lay, with Lāṭa.[18] According to verse 3 of the Bhagalpur copper plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, Dharmapāla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya (i.e., Kanauj) by having defeated Indrarāja who probably was the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva whom he had left in charge of *Lāteśvara-maṇḍala* which presumably represented Gujarat and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa possessions in the north.[19] Moreover, it is interesting that in the Pāla inscriptions, there is the mention of recruitment of military units from various people including the Lāṭas.[20]

These pieces of evidence point to the possibility of cultural traits having been transmitted from the Lāṭadeśa or Gujarat to eastern India in the early medieval period. The Nepalese Buddhist manuscript, mentioned above, seems to perpetuate the record of the transmission of the *Cundā-dhāraṇī mantra*, and the manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* offer us a similar record in respect of an iconic motif of the goddess.

The possible transmission of the iconic motif from Lāṭa or Gujarat to Bengal or eastern India can be explained in the light of other socio-cultural phenomenon. A large number of Pāla inscriptions from the 8th to the 12th centuries refer to the settlement in Bengal of Brāhmaṇas hailing from Lāṭa or Gujarat.[21] Moreover, according to D.R. Bhandarkar and others, the Kāyasthas were descended from Nagara Brāhmaṇas who had a large settlement in Bengal long before the 8th century A.D.[22] They are supposed to have originally migrated from Nagarkot in the Punjab to various parts of Gujarat and Kathiawad peninsula, Anandapur (also called Nagar) in Lāṭa being one of their chief settlements.[23]

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It is not unlikely that in the trail of migrations of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Gujarat to Bengal, as mentioned above, the iconic motif concerned travelled from that end to this, and the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts only perpetuate a glimpse of the memory of this fact when the inscriptional labels of the pictorial representations of the iconic form of the goddess refer to it as *Lāṭadeshe vuṁkāra nagare cundā*.[24] In fact, the *Sādhanamālā* has many of its colophons indicative of the origin of the respective iconographic forms. Mention should be made particularly of a few forms of Buddhist deities which are referred to as being derived or originated from various places, *e.g.*, a form of the goddess Mārīci or of Kurukullā is referred to as *Oḍḍiyāna vinirgatā*[25] (or originating from the place called Oddiyāna), a form of Tārā as *Mahācinakramā*[26] (i.e., in accordance with the formulation seen in Mahācina), a *sādhana* of Ekajaṭā is referred to as being taken out from the Bhoṭa country (*bhoteshu uddhṛtā*) by Nāgārjuna.[27] Many other instances of the names of iconic forms being known after the places of their origin can be cited, e.g., Vajrayoginī Tārā, Khadiravaṇī Tārā, Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, Vajragandhārī Bhīsmabhaginī, *etc.*[28] The *Mahāmāyūrī* contains a list of places associated with various Yakṣas.[29] A number of Buddhist works mention the names of the goddesses along with their respective sacred places,[30] which primarily are the places of their origin, similar to the mode of the reference to the *Śaktapīṭhas* in the *Purāṇas*.

The inscriptions of the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* seem also to refer, likewise, to the place of origin of the iconic motif of the goddess Cundā. Originating from Gujarat or the Lāṭadesa, the iconic motif concerned presumably travelled to eastern India either direct or through transmission from Ellora where the motif might have had a transit stopover. It is of significance that although the iconic motif reached eastern India before A.D. 1015, the date of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, it remained popular right through a few more centuries. The motif influenced considerably the iconography of the deities of the Brahmanical pantheon as well. A few metal sculptures of Śiva discovered from the Chittagong region of Bangladesh, and belonging to the 13th century, bear an unmistakable impress of this iconic motif.[31] More striking is the influence noticed in the iconography of the goddess in the celebrated 12th century sculpture of the Apitakucā form of Pārvatī discovered from Kagajipara in Bangladesh (Pl. 49). Here, however, the similarity in the names of the goddesses of the respective pantheons—Caṇḍī of the Brahmanists, and Cundā/Cundī/Cuṇṭī, etc. of the Buddhists—facilitated the sharing of the same iconographic features.[32] Although these similarities, borrowings, or mutual dependence can be explained in the light of the socio-political perspective of eastern India in the period between the 10th and the 12th centuries, for us at this moment it is a point of special interest that herein we have a case of the transmission of an iconic motif[33] not only from one region to the other, but also from one religion to another.

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8. The illustrations of these two manuscripts and the attached inscriptional labels have been elaborately discussed by A. Foucher in his celebrated book *Etude sur l 'Iconographique Bouddhique de l' Inde*, 2 vols, Paris 1900, 1905. For the two relevant illustrations, see Saraswati, *op. cit.*, colour plates Nos. 216 and 250.
9. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXVIII.
10. E.g., *lāṭadese kurukullāṣikhare kurukllāṣ* (Kurukullā of the Kurukullā mountain in the Lāṭa counrty), *sumero vajrasattva* (Vajrasattva of the Sumeru mountain), *māhacīne mañjughoṣaḥ* (Mañjughoṣa of Mahācīna), *suvarṇapure srīvijayapure lokanātha* (Lokanātha of Suvarṇapura in Śrīvijaya), *gṛdhrakūṭe prajñāpāramitā* (Prajñāpāramitā of the Gṛhdhrakūṭa mountain), *Siṁhaladvīpe Jambhalaḥ* Jambhala of the island of Ceylon), *Harikeladese sīla-lokanāṭhaḥ* Lokanātha of the country of Harikela), *Koṅkaṇe śivapure sahasrabhuja-lokanāthaḥ* (Lokanātha of Śivapura in Konkan), *Dakṣiṇā-pathe Kāṁcīnagare vasudhārā* (Vasudhārā of Kāñcī in the southern country), etc.
11. The relevant inscription reads : *Paṭṭikere cūndāvarabhavane cundā*, i.e., goddess Cūndā "in the illustrious shrine of Cūndā of Paṭṭikera."
12. This point is being elaborately discussed in a separate article to be published elsewhere.
13. The relevant inscription refers to Vuṁkāranagara in the Lāṭa country *lāṭadeśe)*. It has not been decisively possible to identify a place with the name of Vuṁkāra in the Lāṭa country or Gujarat. But U.P. Shah suggested to this author that it is possible to read *Ouṁkārananagare*, in the place of *Vuṁkāranagare*, in the relevant inscription. This suggestion seems to be quite reasonable because in the Newari script, it is sometimes very difficult to maintain a clear-cut distinction between the letters *va* and *ca*, the only perceptible difference being in the angularity of the right-hand end of the latter. Shah suggests that the acceptance of the reading as *Cuṁkāranagare* will facilitate the location of the place in the Lāṭa country or Gujarat, since Cuṁkāranagara can be identified with Cmatkāra-pura in that country.
14. *Epigrahia Indica*, vol. XXXIV, p. 137. It is interesting to note that the inscription accompanying one of the illustrations in the Mss. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñārpāramitā* (the Cambridge Ms. as well as the Asiatic Society Ms.) reads : *Candradvīpe Bhagavati Tārā*. For a very illuminating discussion on the possible association, or rather equation, between this Bhagavatsī Tārā of Candradvīpa and Bhagavatī Tārā of the Pāla rular Dharmapāla, as mentioned in the Nesari plates of Govinda III, see D.C. Sircar, "The Tārā of Chandradvīpa", *Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D.C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 128-133.
15. See Ms. No. *Ca.* 289 in the Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu.
16. *Ibid*, folios 22a-26b.

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17. *History of Bengal*, vol. I, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, p. 39.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 106 and fn. 1.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 579.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 589.
23. *Loc. cit.*
24. Apart from the fact that *vuṁkāranagare* of the inscription can alternatively be read as *cuṁkāranagare*, as discussed in the note No. 13 above, it has to be pointed out that in the same Mss. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, there is another illustration of a goddess, this time of Kurukullā, ascribed to the Lāṭa country, according to the attached inscription which reads as follows : *Lāḥṭa-deśe kurukulāsikhare kurukulā*. Interestingly, this form of the godess Kurukullā (see Saraswati, *op. cit.*, colour plates 215 & 249). seems to have a similar anterior history.
25. See *sādhana* Nos. 138-140 and 179 of the *Sādhanamālā*.
26. *Sādhana* Nos. 100-101 of the *Sādhanamālā*.
27. *Sādhana* No. 127 of the *Sādhanamālā*.
28. In the name of the goddess Vajrayoginī there is presumably the allusion to the place, also known as Vajrayoginī, in the Dacca-Vikrampur region of Bangladesh. The name Khadiravaṇī-Tārā might perpetuate the memory of a place infested with *Khadira* trees. That Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara has an association with a village with the name of Khasarpaṇa is known from the following statement in the *sādhana* No. 15 of the *Sādhanamālā* : *Khāḍimaṇḍale Khasarpaṇanāmā grāmo'sti*. The name Vajragandhārī, similarly, could be taken to have something to do with Gandhāra, the ancient region comprising western Punjab, and parts of Afganistan and N.W. Frontier provinces.
29. J.N. Banerjea, *The Develoment of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1856, p. 143.
30. E.g., *Dākārṇava* (Asiatic Society Ms. G. 8056), *Guṇa-Karma-Tantra* Ms. *Ca.* 133 of the Archives of Govt. of Nepal, Kathmandu).
31. B.N. Mukherjee, *East Indian Art Styles*, Calcutta, 1980, fig. 14.
32. D.C. Bhattacharyya, "An Apītakudā Image from Kagajipara, Bangladesh", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXVI, 1/2, 1974, pp. 89-94.
33. Many illustrations of such transmission of iconic motifs can be cited. The most interesting example is that of the iconography of Śīlādevī, as noticed in the examples of Rajasthani paintings under various names. It is well known that the image of this goddess was brought by Mansingh from Bengal and was placed by him in the Amber palace. How the iconography of the celebrated Jagannāṭha of Puri in Orissa got transmitted in various permutations and combinations in the iconography of Pahari paintings is also very fascinating point worth mentioning in this context. Since the present author is at present engaged in a detailed study of this phenomenon, the references to the exact citations of literal and visual documents in support of this are not given here for obvious reasons.

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Technique and Style in Pala Painting

JAYANTA CHAKRABARTI

Indian painting is specially rich in 'miniature',[1] for the miniatures far out number the other specimens of Indian painting in the pre-modern era. Whatever specimens of the widely varying styles of Indian painting we have—all except some murals—belong to the miniature group. Although miniature paintings form so important a group in Indian art, we must admit that its extant specimens, so far, are not much older than 10th century A.D. The earlier specimens have all perished because of the unfavourable climate of the tropics and the natural menaces like damp, insects, fungi etc. Moreover, the media and bases used in those were also not durable enough to stand the ravages of time. Literary references to such paintings, in deed, are enough to prove their antiquity. Besides, the early surviving manuscripts are so mature in technique and treatment that they do unmistakably bespeak a very long and rich tradition behind them.

It may be noted that barring a few illustrated covers of 'Buddhist manuscripts from Kashmir-Gilgit area'[2] all the surviving Indian manuscripts of early date were prepared in Eastern India under the patronage of the Pāla rulers of Bengal and Bihar (c. A.D. 750-1150).

The study of technique and treatment of Pāla painting, in fact any painting of an early date, has to face certain problems arising out of the fact that the entire process of creation and also of appreciation, of such visual art is essentially different from other kinds of art such as drama or poetry. In drama, or in poetry, the total effect comes at the end of a process and it grows through several stages in it, its images, for example, are built upon images and the narration proceeds from one layer to another, and so on. In painting or sculpture, on the other hand, the total effect is produced by the total work all at once, and there is no trace of its gradual stages to the observer. It is difficult, therefore, for a non-technical person to analyse or understand fully the technical methods employed or involved in it, unless he can see the artists actually at work or get an authentic report of it. As regards Pāla painting, at this distance of time, first hand knowledge of the stages of work through direct observation is not possible, and proper scientific investigation of such Indian miniatures has hardly began as yet. In such condition it may be rewarding to study the original works that have survived and to

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annotate them with the information supplied by the *śilpa* texts of the period. But it may be pointed out that although the *śilpa* texts provide a wealth of technical information, they need searching scrutiny with regard to their implications, limitations and validity.

We have more than one reason to believe that all the Indian *śilpa* texts were written by non-professional versifiers associated with courts or private patrons of art. They might have seen some artists, particularly the mural painters at work from close quarters and could relate only in general terms the method, material and certain processes of painting, but could not go very deep into the technical processes, into the minute details, nor could they always account for why certain things were done at a certain stage. This is probably the reason why no systematic classification of the materials and techniques of the mural and the miniature could be found in our *śilpa* texts. Thi may further be noted that the manuscript paintings, unlike the murals, were presumably completed not in public places or before public eyes, but in the artists' own houses. Occasional violations of iconographic instructions given in the texts regarding form and colour of certain deities, in the actual execution in the manuscripts, would indicate the possibility we have suggested. The works which were done privately in the artist's house offered little scope to the writers of *śilpa* texts to study in detail the method and technique of miniature painting; they might have obtained the technical information of such paintings from verbal enquries and from direct observation of the execution of murals which were open to the public. The writers of the texts probably made broad observations on miniatures, on the basis of their knowledge of the murals and their observation of the miniatures as finished products. Such statements are, therefore, not so dependable. An additional problem is that most of the *śilpa* texts in their present state of preservation are mutilated and corrupt and conclusions drawn from such texts may not always be precise or decisive. So the *śilpa* texts must be re-read between the lines with the more detailed knowledge of the actual processes of miniature painting gathered from a practising artist of our time.

All the surviving manuscripts of the Pāla period were painted on palm-leaf or on wooden cover in *gouache*, *i.e.*, a kind of tempera technique in which white is invariably mixed with the pigments using water as the dilutent for media like gum, glue etc.

The techniques involved in Pāla paintings may be classified into two distinct methods – (a) method prior to painting and (b) the actual process of painting.

The method prior to painting would cover selection and preparation of materials needed for the purpose. There are four principal factors which are mainly involved in the preliminary process. There are—(i) the 'Carrier'[3] or the 'base', (ii) the 'Ground' or a thin layer of coating which is applied on the carrier; (iii) preparation of 'Pigments and Colours', and (iv) the preparation of 'Binding media' by which pigments are attached to the ground. This may be noted that the preparation of these essential materials, requiring a long and time-consuming process, had to be completed before the actual painting was started.

The most favourite material, used as carrier, for Pāla manuscript painting was the palm-leaf of the palmyra tree of which there are two varieties—*śrī-tāḍ* and *khar-tāḍ*.

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The former one grew abundantly in South India, Ceylon, Burma and Bengal, and its fronds being smooth, delicate, elastic and much more durable than the latter variety, were used for painting. The leaves were also specially prepared and seasoned for their durability. This is also recorded by R.L. Mitra in a *Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1881-134).

Generally the young off shoots of the fronds were collected from the *Srī-tāḍ* variety and separate leaves, measuring roughly 33″×3″, were made. The leaves were first kept buried in the quagmire or soft mud of a pond; after a period of one month they were taken out, cleaned and dried separately in the shade; then the leaves, tied in bunches, were kept immersed in water for another month. Then each of them was separated and hung for a week in the shade to drain off the water and allowed to dry. When each leaf was dried, it was rubbed on both sides with a conch-shell or an agate to make the surface smooth and suitable for writing and painting. After that the leaves were cut to required size and given to the scribes who were responsible for writing the text. The process of seasoning the palm-leaf is still in practice among the traditional artists of Orissa. No reference to this process has, however, been found in any of our *śilpa* texts. The reason may be that the seasoning process was operated privately by a particular class of people who might be reluctant to disclose their 'trade secret', and naturally the process was not known to the writer of our *śilpa* texts. As the *śilpa* texts do not refer to this method some scholars, without verifying other factors, have remarked that 'as a carrier palm-leaf does not require any specific preparation.'[4]

The palm-leaves, processed in the above manner, were given to the scribes for writing the text. The pages intended to be illustrated were written in ornamental *Kuṭila* style in narrow rectangular areas leaving oblong spaces in between for painted illustrations. The pages which were not illustrated were entirely utilised by the scribes whose names are often found recorded along with those of the patrons or donors. Five or six lines of the text generally appear on each page; in a few instances seven lines are also found. But majority of the Pāla manuscripts have six lines in a page. It is interesting to note that most of the manuscripts which were prepared during the time of Nayapāladeva contain five lines in a page. The size and shape of the palm-leaf determined the shape and dimension of each page and format, measuring roughly 33″×3″ inches, *i.e.*, the leaves are much longer than their width. The leaves, having been written on by the scribes, were returned to the artists for illustration. Each illustrated leaf has usually three panels of painting, one in the middle and one each on the two sides; in a few, the painting appears only in the middle of the leaf, or on the two sides of the leaf. The leaves were threaded on cords which pass through the two holes made on two sides on a leaf and the enclosed wooden covers, which were sometimes painted on both sides. The painting on the cover could be more elaborate than that on the leaf, since a larger space was available in it.

Although we do not know from the *śilpa* texts what kind of palm-leaves were used and how they were processed for painting, we have a few references, in *śilpa* texts, to *paṭṭa* and *phalaka*, *i.e.*, wooden panel which was painted and used as the cover for palm-leaf manuscript. The preparation of the ground or *bhūmibandhana* on wooden

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panel has been also discussed in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*,[5] the *Aparājitapṛcchā*[6] and in the *Śilparatna*.[7] Among these three texts only the *Aparājitapṛcchā* specifically mentions in verse No. 1 of the *Paṭṭa-Patra-Vartanānirṇayaḥ* section (ch. 231) that 'the panel to be painted on, should be made of (*śāka vṛkṣa*) teak-wood' (*citrādi paṭṭasādhanam|śākavṛkṣodbhava kāryā*[8] . . .). The *Śilparatna*, though does not state which kind of wood would be proper for panel painting, mentions in the following line the simple process of preparing a panel.

phalakādau takṣṇena snigdhe varṇaṁ vilepayet[9]

That is, 'colour should be applied on (wooden) panel which is smoothed by carpenter's work.' The panel, smoothed by a carpenter was, no doubt, seasoned earlier, and the process was probably not different from that which was followed by a carpenter for any kind of wood-work. It may be noted that only the *Śilparatna* mentions the term '*phalaka*' which, without any doubt, means 'wooden panel', and the process noted for its preparation appears to be reasonable.

From the physical verification of the actual specimens of Pāla painting we know that a thin coat of white was applied on both palm-leaf and wooden cover (*pātā*). What specific white was used on palm-leaf has not been recorded in our *śilpa* texts, but different kinds of white coat and the method of their preparation have been mentioned in connection with *paṭṭa* painting, which may mean a painting either on panel or on cloth.

The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, a mutilated text of the 11th century A.D. mentions that the ground of wooden panel may be prepared with the juice of a ripe palm-fruit (*tāla pakka niryāsa*) mixed with *kaṭaśarkarā* (stone powder in the proportion of one to three) and cow-dung.[10]

The *Aparājitapṛcchā* gives a clear statement regarding the preparation of the ground of *paṭṭa*. It prescribes that 'bricks, burnt to the colour of iron, should be powdered and sifted through a sieve, full of pores. This (sifted) dust should be as fine as the carbon produced from a lamp's flame. Then wheat, powdered in a morter, should be thrown into butter-milk-water and filtered through a fine cloth. This, after keeping in a pot, should be heated in low-fire so that it becomes a paste like *Vajralepa* (glue); this should be mixed with already prepared fine brick powder and applied on the surface of the *paṭṭa* (panel). After one month the paste will be properly settled on the surface and will be ready for painting'.[11] Such paste might have been used as a prime coat for cloth or canvas, but so far we know was never applied on wooden panel and palm-leaf.

It is quite probable that the white coat referred to in the *Śilparatna* in verses 28 and 29 was used for priming the wooden panel. The text mentions[12] that white made of pulvarised conch-shell or mother of pearl or white earth should be (mixed and) stirred with the juice of elephant apple (*Kapittha*) and margosa (*nimba*) and then that

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should be slowly applied on the wall or on the panel :

śaṅkha śuktyādikaṁ bātha sitamṛdvāth (?) cūrṇayet ||
kapittha-nimba-niryāsa-toyai rālodya budhimān |
mandamālepayed bhittau phalake vā yathāruci ||

No scientific investigation has yet been carried to verify the above statements of the *śilpa* texts, but it appears from the actual works that the method recorded in the *Śilparatna* might have been followed for the preparation of the ground of the wooden cover as well as the parts of the palm-leaf which were painted on.

Colour, crayon, brush, medium etc. were also to be prepared before actual painting was undertaken. The preparation of such materials had, no doubt, littel to do with artistic creation; it was more or less a mechanical job. But in early days, particularly in India, such materials might be a necessary part of a painter's work; these had to be prepared by the artists themselves or their associates since manufactured or ready-made colour, crayon, brush etc. were not available in markets, as they are now. A detailed information of these materials has, therefore, been supplied in our *śilpa* texts. This elaborate information of the *śilpa* texts may seem redundant to a modern reader. But in the perspective of early Indian painting, they have certainly their relevance and should also be included in our discussion.

Most of the colours in the palette of Pāla painting were obtained from minerals or natural earth and very rarely from vegetal source (such as indigo). Black was obtained from the soot of a lamp, white from Kaolin, a kind of white earth, and from burnt conch-shell. The colours which were obtained from minerals or natural earth could not be used in their pristine stage. All impurities had to be removed by the process of levigation. The colours (obtained from nature) were first pulverised and kept for a period in a vessel full of water, allowing the colour to float in water and the dirt in them to deposit at the bottom. The process was repeated several times so that the colour would become pure and refined. The above process has been found to be discussed in the *Śilparatna* (Part I, ch. 45, verses 41-45) in connection with the method of preparing a yellow colour.

The preparation of 'black' from lamp-soot is altogether a different process and its detailed description has been recorded in the *śilpa* texts, particularly in the *Śilparatna*[13] in between verses 47 and 51. A similar method of preparing the lamp-black has also been stated by Cennino Cennini, an Italian painter of the 15th century, in '*A Treatise on Painting*.'[14]

Crayon or pencil, generally used for preliminary sketches, has been mentioned in the *śilpa* texts as *Vartikā* or *Kiṭṭalekhani*. The method of its preparation can be found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, the *Mānasōllāsa* and the *Śilparatna*; and each of them enjoins a slightly different formula. Among the above texts, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* only suggestively mentions that *Vartikā* or crayon may be prepared by combining white (chalk) paste and black powder (*śvetakādra kṛṣṇabhirvartikābhir-jathākarmam*).[15] It may be noted that rough sketches require occasional erasing to make a desired drawing; and erasing of drawing (for perfection) on several occasion may make the ground dirty, specially when the crayon or pencil is

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of dark colour like black. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* suggests, therefore, the use of a crayon of a light (grey) colour prepared by mixing white and black powder.

According to the prescription of the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*[16] crayon has to be prepared by adding boiled rice with soft and smooth earth, collected from a pond, or a river, or such other places. The *Mānasollāsa*[17] mentions that it may be done by lamp-black and boiled rice mixed together in lump and made in the shape of a wick. The *Śilparatna*[18] gives a recipe in which dust of old brick and powder of dried cowdung are said to be added with equal amount of cold water or juice of the leaves of *tulasī*.

The preparation of brushes is elaborately discussed in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (ch. 75, verses 12-22), the *Mānasollāsa* (Vol. 2, ch. I, verses 145-148), the *Śilparatna* (Part I, ch. 46, verses 53-58a) and in the *Sudhālepavidhāna* (verses 35-39). Of these, the last three texts provide information of the materials used and the different stages in the making of a brush; and both the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Śilparatna* mention that brushes should be of different thickness—broad, fine and medium (*lekhani tridhā jñeyā sthūla sukṣma ca madhyamā*).

According to the *Mānasollāsa* brushes (*lekhanī*) are to be made with hair, collected from the ear of a calf and fixed to the end of the brush-hands with (melted) lac or shellac. The *Śilparatna* records in detail all the materials and stages of work, necessary for preparing a brush. According to the text, hair collected from the ear of a calf should be used for a thick or flat brush, from underside of a goat for medium veriety and from the tail of a musk-rat (*cicroḍa pucchiaṁ*) for a fine brush. Then the hair (should be) threaded at the top of a handle or fixed into the (hollow) plated band with lac or shellac (*tantunā lākṣayā bātha daṇḍāgra kṛta śaṅkuṣu/badhnātu lekhanīḥ—ŚR.*, Part I, ch. 46, verse 57).

A brief but identical description of the preparation of a brush is also found in the *Sudhālepavidhāna*.[19]

The astringents or media, used for tempering and fixing the colour with the ground of a Pāla painting, are difficult to identify now. The *Śilparatna*, however, refers, in connection with the preparation of the prime coating on a panel, to the exudation of elephant apple (*kapittha*) and margosa (*nimba*) that should be mixed with white.[20] The *Śilparatna* also recommends that the juice of *nimba* may be used as medium with lamp black,[21] red ochre (*gairika*),[22] vermillion (*sindhūra*)[23] and realger (*manaḥśilā*).[24] On the other hand it is prescribed that juice or exudation of elephant apple (*kapittha*) should be mixed with *śyāmadhātu* (i.e., blue or any dark colour).[25] In Verse 133b of the same text it is again stated that *Vajralepa* (glue) should be mixed even with such colours in which exudation of elephant apple and margosa have been used.

We have, so far, tried to examine the techniques involved into the methods prior to painting. For any work of art, the above discussed techniques are, surely, essential prerequisites.

The techniques employed in a painting proper are, of course, not so machanical as that of the process prior to painting. Because an artist's work cannot be limited to

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his craft only. The know-how of technique and treatment is not enough and certainly not the *raison d'etre* of a work of art. An artist has a much higher goal and perspective and his execution is far more difficult and complex as he wants to convey some idea or vision or 'meaning' through his work. An artist also cannot do without craft although he goes far beyond craft and uses craftsmanship to express his mental attitude. A painter has always to follow a number of stages one after another, starting from the preliminary drawing to the finishing of a painting. The stages are more or less of universal nature. But in the actual execution some stages may be omitted by one painter, or elaborated by another. For example, an artist may prefer to prepare a detailed pencil sketch of the subject before using brush and colour; or one may start to draw directly with the brush without any pencil sketch whatsoever. Some may finish their painting following the usual way of colouring, shading and highlighting; the others may prefer a transparent colour-wash to produce a delicate effect. Such minute and delicate process, particularly in tempera painting, cannot be understood unless one sees the artist at work or gets the information that systematically records the successive stages of the work. For understanding the technical process of Pāla painting, it would be rewarding, as we have noted earlier, to study the actual remnant specimens and to supplement them with the information supplied by the *śilpa* texts of the period.

The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* of Bhojadeva, a work of the 11th century A.D. refers in verses 14 and 15, chapter 71, to the different stages of the techniques of pictorial art in the form of a *sūtra* in the following lines :

vartikā (pra)—thamaṁ teṣāṁ dvitīyaṁ bhūmibandhanam/lekhyaṁ
tṛtīyaṁ syād rekhākarmaṇi (vartatemiha lakṣaṇam)// pañchamaṁ
(karṣakarmacca?[26]) ṣaṣṭhaṁ syād vartanākramaḥ/ saptamaṁ
(lekhanaṁ lekhakaraṇaṁ dvicakarma[27]) tathāṣṭamaṁ//

According to the above verses, there are eight limbs or stages in the execution of a painting; and the essential parts (*aṅgāṇi*) are—(1) *vartikā*, i.e., crayon or pencil, (2) *bhūmibandhana*, i.e., preparation of ground, (3) *lekhya* or *lekhā* (*karma*), i.e., drawing with crayon or pencil, (4) *rekhā-karma*, i.e., outline drawing with a brush over the rough pencil sketch, (5) *varṇa-karma*, i.e., application of colour, (6) *vartanākrama*, i.e. shading, (7) *lekhana* or *lekhakarṇa*, i.e., final outline (over the first drawn outline), (8) *dvika-karma* or *dīpakarma* i.e., finishing touches or the work of illumination.

Among the eight parts or stages of a painting mentioned in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, the first two stages, i.e., the preparation of crayon and preparation of ground are not strictly a part of the execution of a painting, they are only preliminary to the work. *Vartikā* crayon or pencil itself is not a stage, it is intended for drawing the first outline of the preliminary sketch; it is a necessary pre-requisite and is used in the third stage of a painting (i.e., *lekhyakarma*, according to verse No. 14, ch. 71 of the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*).

The third and fourth stages, according to the list of the above text, are *lekhyakarma* and *rekhākarma*, and both refer to outline drawing. The former probably means first sketching in peneil or crayon, while the latter would surely mean drawing

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in brush line, usually done in red ochre, over the pencil sketch,—after necessary corrections.

The next stage is the application of colour or *varṇakarma*, which seems to be the correct reading, since the meaning of the term *Karṣa-karma*, recorded in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, is vague. According to the *Śilparantā* (Part I, ch. 46, verse 111), appropriate colours are to be applied after the forms are conceived and reproduced in line. Each colour is said to be used with a particular meaning, and the *Nātya Śāstra* clearly says : *varṇanāṁ tu bidhiṁ jñātvā tathā kuryāt aṅgasya racanām.*[28] That is, 'first know the nature and significance of different colours, then go to paint.' The emotional content in colour plays, indeed, a significant role in the painting, although we know that certain limitations were imposed on the artists particularly in representing deites with their iconographic marks.

Then comes the stage of *vartanā* or shading. Of course, *vartanā* in Indian painting is quite different from the Western method, and is not intended to produce the effect of natural light, directed from one source. The purpose of shading in Pāla painting, or in any Indian painting, as appears from the descriptions of the *śilpa* texts, is to create only pictorial relief or formal distinction, showing elevation and depression, and surely not aiming at any natural representation. This is clearly indicated in the following statement of the *Mānasollāsa*:[29]

ujjvalaṁ pronnatasthāne śyāmalaṁ nimnadeśataḥ

That is, bright colour should be used on raised portion and dark on the recessed area. An identical view is also recorded in the following lines of the *Śilparatna*.[30]

tatra nimnonnatādīni viśeṣāṇi samācaret ||
śyāmojjvalatva bhedau ca tathā pāruṣyamārdavān |
vinyāsa kramabhedau ca kuryāt sarvamanoharam ||

That is, (colours are to be used) to produce the effect of depressed and protruded forms. By differentiation of dark and bright colours may be shown the hardness (*pāruṣya*) and softness (*mārdavān*) in a painting which can be made pleasing to all by variation in the application of colours.

There are two reasons for avoiding natural representation and Western chairos-curo in the works of our discussion. One is the technical consideration and the other is the conceptual factor. We have already noted that Pāla paintings are executed in tempera, and the charm of a tempera work depends much on the intensity of colour, which can be better produced in a comparatively flat treatment. Hence certain simplification and non-representational elements have been automatically entered into its composition. Conceptualistic attitude towards art also pointed to the non-objective reality, which is far from outward semblance.

The next step in the process of a painting is *lekhakaraṇa*, i.e., final or finishing outlining. Line in Indian painting, has been given a pride of place as the technique of tempera requires a precise and definite shape in clear outline. It is, therefore, stated in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (ch. 41, verse 15) that a painting becomes highly execellent (*ativa*

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citra) if according to the need of the subject, it is adorned with exact proportions and with soft (*susnigdha*), clear (*vispaṣṭa*), unfaltering (*ajihṃa*) and satisfactory or appropriate coloured line (*suvarṇarekham*). In oil painting, an outline can be broken and fused, and yet it would reveal the shape and character; but it is almost impossible in tempera. The colour-quality of tempera is such that it demands a shape which should be precise and definite. The *Mānasollāsa*, therefore, puts certain emphasis on final or finishing outline. It mentions that after preliminary drawing and application of colour the painting should be finished with black outline (*prānte kajjala varṇena likhedrekhām*);[31] and thereafter it should be reinforced with red (along with the contour) to make it complete (*alaktena likhetpaścāccitraṁ pūrṇaṁ bhavattaḥ*).[32] It may be noted that in the above verses the *Mānasollāsa* suggests the use of a second outline in red along the decisively drawn black outline; and the use of this second outline in a comparatively softer red colour would not only soften the hardness of the black outline, but would also produce an effect of plasticity or roundness of form. Physical verification of the Pāla painting would show that all the paintings of the period were not finished with black outline, final outline in red was also used in several instances. Moreover, the second outline was hardly drawn in red; whenever such outline was used, it was usually made with a darker shade of the body colour itself, excepting in representing deities like *Lokanātha*, *Vajrasattva* etc. whose complexion is white.

The technical process of a painting is said to be completed with *dvikakarma* or rather *dīpakarma*, which may be described as finishing touches or the work of illumination. It is the usual convention that before his painting a painter gives his final touches by adding highlight and depth, reinforcing certain parts of the contour and using second outline. These are the last means which an artist uses at the end of his work or when he thinks that he has done corresponds, more or less, to what he has felt or imagined. At this stage he applies his finishing touches with the intention of giving a deeper and more sensitive penetration into the aspects of his composition.

We may now turn to the finished works of Pāla painting, which have gone through the above technical processes, so that certain aspects of the style of the painting can be formulated.

The majority of the surviving manuscripts of the Pāla days are copies of the sacred Buddhist texts, particularly *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Among the other illustrated texts, mention should be made of *Pañchārakṣā* and *Dhārani* (which is mainly tantric in nature). The majority of the texts belong to *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts which 'explain the virtue of transcendental wisdom and is a work of pure metaphysics,'[33] and as such there is hardly any scope of pictorial representation in it; but it is strange to note that these manuscripts contain the larger number of illustrations. 'The painting irrespective of the texts of the manuscripts, depict incidents in the life of Buddha and hosts of divinities of the Buddhist pantheon.'[34]

The painting on palm-leaf had much limitation for the space available for painting was very small and narrow—roughly 2½"×3" inches, and naturally it was too small a space for any ambitious composition. So they had to simplify the composition and had

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to emphasise the figures by bringing them in isolation with the help of architectural framing. A wooden *pātā* would offer a better scope providing a comparatively larger space for painting.

The composition of the Pāla painting is simple and symmetrical; a central Buddha, Bodhisattva or a Buddhist deity is usually flanked by worshippers or attendant deities. Occasionally *Jātaka* story with crowded scene was also illustrated. The figures, drawn against a deep red or yellow ground, were given architectural frames and lotus thrones and the style has a close connection with the contemporanious bronze images. 'Stylised trees and slight indication of rivers or mountains', as pointed out by Basil Gray, 'are the only other features of this monastic and hieratic art.'[35] The central deity is always made larger than the attending figures. Visual perspective and spatial depth are also completely absent. The figures are less overlapping, and figure at one's back is shown either by placing it at the top of the front figure or by arranging it in such a way as the rear figure is only partially hidden. It is possible that the painters were guided by the principle *vibhaktatā* which is said to be one of the eight merits[36] of a painting. Its plastic conception, modelling in line, colour and tone, as well as rounded-continuous-sinuous line would indicate its legacy with the Gupta classical tradition. Of course if was not completely unaffected by the growing mediaeval trends, and throughout the period, we observe in Pāla painting an oscillation between the classical and the mediaeval. The Nepalese idiom, a derivation of the Eastern Pāla style, of course, survived in a rather stable condition for a few centuries more even after the Pāla school disappeared from its own land.

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1. The word 'miniature' is derived from the Latin verb '*miniare*' which means to, paint in red'. 'Miniatures' or 'illuminations' originally meant painted illustrations in ancient and mediaeval manuscripts as also ornamental letters, chapter-openings, page-borders and the like in which red was very often used. By false etymology, the term 'miniature' came to be applied also to a different category of painting which includes portraits, landscapes and figural scenes of minute demension as Latin 'minus' from which the word 'miniature' was supposed to have been derived, means 'small' (cf. *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. X, Mcgraw Hill Book Company, New York, 1965, p. 121). However, by 'miniature' we mean now-a-days both illuminations and small-size paintings. Due to its minute dimension, it has certain qualities of minute nature. Wherever it flourished, it happened to be a combined product of both calligraphers and painters.
2. S.K. Saraswati, 'East Indian Manuscript painting', *Chavi*, Banaras, 1971, p. 243.
3. The distinction between the carrier and the ground of a miniature painting was not always properly understood even by scholars like Moti Chandra and others who often mentioned the carrier as the ground and the ground (which in this case is the prime coating) as the carrier. As for example, Moti Chandra in his *Jaina Miniature Painting from Western India* (Ahmedabad, 1949, p. 68) mentions, 'In a painting, say on palm-leaf, the palm-leaf becomes the ground and the priming on which the painting is done, becomes the carrier.'
4. A.K. Bhattacharya, *Technique of Indian Painting*, Calcutta, 1976, p. 44.
5. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 25, Baroda, 1966, ch. 72, verses Nos. 40-43a.
6. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. CX5, Baroda, 1950, ch. 231, verses Nos. 1-6.

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7. *Śilparatna*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXXV, 1922, ch. 46, verse No. 24b.
8. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, ch. 231, verse No. I.
9. *Śilparatna*, ch. 46, verse No. 24b.
10. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, ch. 72, verses Nos. 40-43a.
11. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, ch. 231, verses Nos. 2-6.
12. *Śilparatna*, ch. 46.
13. Part I, ch. 46.
14. Cennino Cennini, *A Treatise on Painting*, (Trans. by Mrs. Merrifield), London, 1844, Part the 2nd, ch. 37, pp. 21-22.
15. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part III, ch. 40, verse 13.
16. ch. 72, verses 1-9.
17. Vol. 2, ch. I, verse 144.
18. Part I. ch. 46, 35 b-37 a.
19. *Vide* V.V. Sharma, 'Method of Plastering Wall for Painting (*Sudhālepavidhāna*)', *IHQ*. Vol. 3, 1927, p. 56.
20. *Śilparatna*, Part I, ch. 46, verse 29.
21. *Ibid.*, verse 51 a.
22. *Ibid.*, verse 119 a.
23. *Ibid.*, verse 122 a.
24. *Ibid.*, verse 120 b.
25. *Ibid.*, verse 52 a.
26. *Varṇakarma* would be the reading.
27. *Dvicakarma* is grammatically wrong; Coomarswamy has amended it as *dvikakarma*, meaning second time work or finishing touch, it may also be amended as *dīpakarma* which would mean the work of illumination.
28. Quoted from A.N. Tagore, *Bhārat Śilpe Ṣaḍaṅga*, Viśva Vidyā Saṁgraha Series, Visva-Bharati, 1947, p. 48.
29. *Mān*, vol. II, ch. I, verse 153 b.
30. *Śilparatna*, Part I, ch. 46, verse 112 b-113.
31. *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, ch. I, verse 178 a.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, ch. I, verse 179 a.

33 & 34. S.K. Saraswati, 'East Indian Manuscript painting'. *Chavi*, p. 275; also see S.K. Saraswati, *Pāl Yuger Citra Kalā*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 120-129.

35. *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. X, 1965, p. 176.
36. Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part III, ch. 41, verse 9; and ch. 43, verse 19.

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A Note on Six Gandharan Sculptures

T.K. BISWAS

Bharat Kala Bhavan, the art and archaeology museum of Banaras Hindu University, has in its possession a rich collection of stone and stucco sculptures that hail from various Gandhāran sites.[1] This unique collection remained unexposed to its desired extent to the scholarly world for a long span of time. Eliky S. Zannas was, perhaps, the first scholar who studied the collection and published a short note on two sculptures from this collection.[2] The present article introduces six more sculptures from the same collection which were never published earlier. The credit for acquiring major part of these Gandhāran specimens goes to Late Shri Rai Krishnadasaji, the Founder Director of Bharat Kala Bhavan. This collection was built up long back and the official inventory does not give adequate information as a result of which the reconstruction of the history of Gandhāran art through these specimens becomes more difficult.

Gandhāra proper occupied the area bound on one side by the Kunduz river and on the other by the Indus, that is to say, it lay at the lower end of the Kabul valley.[3] There are many sites in this area which have laid bare countless stone, terracotta and stucco sculptures but it is difficult enough to conclude from which type-sites the sculptures in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan have actually come from.

Not a single Gandhāra specimen in this collection is dated and 'the dating of Gandhāra art', Saraswati rightly pointed out, 'is a matter of uncertainity.'[4] Bosch appears to be more eloquent on this issue when he says that 'there is no other period we can think of which, as on battle fields, so many convictions of archaeologists have clashed, the ground is strewn so abundantly with the battered armours of out worn theories, the broken weapons are so numerous and seemingly so insolvable.'[5] Ingholts maintains almost the same opinion when he surmises that 'whereas there is a general agreement as to what the Gandhāra sculptures represent, there is the strange disagreement to their chronology'; he further comments that 'there are almost as many solutions as there are experts.'[6] It is still a problem as to which era the dated Buddha images of Loriyan Tongai and Hashtnagar and the Hariti image of Skārādheri are related to. If the various points on dating Gandāra sculptures are studied carefully, then it will be found that there is a general agreement regarding the terminal date i.e., A.D. 450 but

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there is no unanimous opinion as to the time when the so-called Gandhāra art crystalised. Wheeler, on the basis of the Chārsādā excavations, pointed to our attention to a proto-Gandhāran art that began in the second half of third century B.C.[7] This stage was exposed to influences from various quarters.

Gandhāran art has been justifiably designated as an eclictic art wherein a gentle infusion of various cultures (viz., Greek, Roman, Sassanian, Parthian, Scythian and Indian) took place but the core of population and its culture thereof remained Indian. It is sometime alleged that the art of Gandhāra had its evident impact on the art of contemporary Mathurā and it is more so, in the case of Buddha images, but in actuality it had not been a one way traffic. It is interesting to note that 'the excavations at Taxila (in particular at Sirkap and Dharmarājika) have yielded a fair amount of red Sikri sand stone which were certainly carved at Mathurā."[8] Taddei has also drawn our attention to the fragment of a Buddha figure in the Mathurān style that was found at Butkara I (Swat) and he was thus sufficiently convinced to remark that 'this export had repercussion on the other countries concerned as we can see, for example, from a group of carvings in Swat which are strongly influenced by Mathurān conceptions and stylistic features etc."[9]

The climate of Gandhāra is such that wall paintings cannot survive long; as a result her artistic creations have come down to us in the form of sculptures. Gandhāran sculptures are generally found to be made of bluish schist. Such stone was quarried from the hills of Swat and Buner. The use of grey coloured schist and lime stone is also reported on certain occasions. In the National Museum at Karachi there is a standing Bodhisattva which is made of black calcerious marble. At Swat and Kapisa the stone used is often of a kind of a fine greenish colour. It is said that Taxila and Hadda worked on imported stone.[10] Stone was either scarce or appeared at certain period of time too difficult to work upon and that perhaps answers the development of a school of stucco[11] side by side with the schist craftsmen and remained in existence for a longer period. The use of mould and the cheapness of material allowed a huge increase in the number of the figures of Buddha and thereby gained merits both for the artists and donors.

As regards the period when works in stucco began, Marshall evinced a theory of his own. To him the artistic activity of Gandhāra ceased temporarily with the Sassanian conquest in A.D. 250 and sponsoring of artistic activities were withdrawn till A.D. 390 and thereafter, Kidara Kuṣāṇas of Bactria extended there hegemony on Gandhāra and the latter caused the revival of artistic activities in Gandhāra and the tradition continued for another sixty years, i.e. upto the A.D. 450.[12] This date roughly witnessed the wholesale destruction of Gandhāran cultural activities by the invading White Hūṇs. Marshall further says that during the regime of the Kidara Kuṣāṇas the principal media of artistic activities was stucco and clay and not stone. Wheeler does not approve of the contention of Marshall when the latter says that during the period of the Sassanians all activities were temporarily ceased. To Wheeler, the artistic activity in Gandhāra had been unbroken and continuous till the advent of the White Hūṇs in A.D. 450. It never

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ceased to exist in between. The Gandhāran art is primarily a religious art serving the Buddhist faith.[13] Rice is quite justified when she writes that the 'Gandhāra became such fervent Buddhist that their sculptures of Buddha soon outnumbered those of Graeco Bactrian goddess Artemis Anihita,"[14] while Grusset comments that 'the union of the religion of Śākyamuni with Alexandrian art had created Graeco Buddhist civilization."[15] Hallade finds that the art of Gandhāra remained faithful to the most ancient aspect of Buddhism—the Hīnayāna or Small Vehicle. The Buddha Śākyamuni is always given first place although a slight variation towards the most complex aspect of the religion (that is the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle) can be seen in the frequent representations of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara.[16] Gandhāran artists also worked simultaneously with non-Indian themes viz., Nanaia, Farro, Ardoksho, Athena Roma, Harpocrates, Centaur, Silenus, Satyr Atlantes, Fire altar etc., but the images of Buddha, Bodhisattva and the narrative panels dealing with the stories from Buddha's life have outnumbered them to a great extent.

Of the six sculptures with which the article is dealing, five specimens are related to Buddha-Bodhisattvas and the sixth one presents a Sūrya image in relief. There is a damaged narrative panel (18×27×9 cms.) that shows child Siddhārtha as proceeding to his school riding on the back of a ram (Acc. No.750). To the left of this panel and within a shallow rectangular niche an amorino is seen standing on a pot base and under a stylised tree. By his right hand he shows *abhaya mudrā* while his left hand is sadly missing. A similar amorino figure is also seen in Lahore Museum panel that deals with the theme of interpretation of Queen Māyā's dream. On the other part of the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel, nimbate Bodhisattva Gautama is seen riding on a ram. The fore-part of this animal is mutilated. Bodhisattva is moving from left to the right side of the panel and he is controlling the rein by his left hand; his raised right hand is damaged. He is being followed by an attendant, who holds a container full of peacock's feathers that probably represents a royal emblem. Faint traces of a few more accompanying figures are also detected and these were probably meant to show the figures of class-mates of the Bodhisattva. A panel with same theme is there in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum in London but there are visible differences in the compo-sition of these two panels. In this Chārsādā panel of Victoria and Albert Museum, the Bodhisattva is seen riding a cart drawn by two rams.[17] A driver in front is noticed as driving the cart and the nimbate Bodhisattva is seated on a *hawda*. His five classmates are also seen walking along with the cart and each of them carries a slate and an ink pot in his hand.[18] What is interesting to note is that in both the panels Gandhāran artists failed to portray the face of the school going children. In both the cases Bodhisattva appears more matured than he is expected to be shown. He is more reserved and a divine being. He is not a child of this earth (Pl. 50).

There are two heads of emaciated Bodhisattvas in this collection. Zannas published one of them (Acc. No. 735) in her article. The second one is smaller (Acc. No. 738) but psychologically more awesome since it reflects at once the physical privation and mental concentration of the Bodhisattva. This head (17×11×11 cms) very realistically represents the physiological changes that is caused by prolonged fasting and

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related austerities. He has become skin drawn; his nerves, veins and bones have been exposed. His open eyes are sunken in sockets but most interesting element in his eyes are the pupils which are drawn upwards as if he is in deep trance (pl. 51). A similar head is there in the collection of Museum fur Indische Kunst in Berlin.[19] This head looks more like a living skeleton, a head that appears more dejected and pensive.

There is a very beautiful Bodhisvattva image (Acc. No. 739) in this collection wherein he is shown seated in *dhyāna mudrā* (55×33×13 cms). The rectangular seat on which the Bodhisattva is shown seated is decorated in front with twisted rope design. Bodhisattva is nimbate and the huge halo is kept severely plain. On his head his hairs have been carefully arranged and he is found to have put on a diadem dominated by large cockade material.[20] The latter is designed as a many petalled lotus. He bears a moustache over his lip trimmed in Parthian manner. His eyes are half closed to indicate his meditative attitude. In fact, in this meditative figure, one finds the proud face of a *rājā*; with moustache, turban, nude torso, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, etc., he appears as a Kuṣāṇa noble (Pl. 52).

Aesthetically no less inferior is the figure of a standing Maitreya—the future Buddha of this collection (Acc. No. 736).[21] The Bodhisattva is shown standing on a small rectangular pedestal decorated in front with floral designs and such designs were composed within triangular fields (55×22×9 cms). His right hand from the elbow is missing while by his suspended left hand he holds a water pitcher.[22] His upper part of the body is bare and his lower garment that reaches upto his ankles is heavily folded. A huge scarf is seen passing over his left shoulder and its both sides are supported by the projecting hands of the Bodhisattva. A huge tassel hangs from the scarf to his left. A tuft of hair is adjusted in the middle of his head and the same is firmly held by a crescent topped hair-pin. Behind his head there is a plain back stelae that speaks of his divine association (Pl. 53). In the National Museum of Karachi there is a similar Bodhisattva figure but curiously enough, there the Bodhisattva is bare-footed and the hanging tussel from the scarf, is also missing.

A sadly eroded stone tray (10 cms. in diameter) has been donated to this museum by Smt. Sarojini Gupta. This tray (Acc. No. 23499) shows on its obverse Sun god, riding a two-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses (Quadriga). A term of two horses flanks on either side of the chariot. Under each team, a many-spoked wheel is relieved in profile. Horses are shown with uplifted fore legs and in this attitude each team of horses is shown trampling a demon of darkness. The lower part of Sūrya is covered by the body of the chariot and his upper part of the body peeps out and he is shown controlling the reins by his hands. The said composition covers more than half of the tray and the remaining portion is kept plain. At its edges, it is decorated with beaded chains and at the back of this tray a lotus is found to have been carved with a plain pericarp. Lotus is an emblem of Sūrya and the association of this flower in this tray is nothing unusual. It is said that the 'trays represent non-Buddhist elements in Gandhāran sculptures.' These elements include amorous couple, erotic scene, woman riding on sea horse (hippocamus) couple with wine cups, girl and garland, Apollo and Daphne,

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Dioscuri (Castor and Pollus), geometric and floral designs.[23] But the tray with Sūrya image in Bharat Kala Bhavan is unique of its kind, a theme not reported earlier on any tray from Gandhāra (Pl. 54).

There are nineteen stucco fragments in this museum. Of these, mostly, are the heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. One of these (Acc. No. 759) (Pl. 55) represents a beautiful benign and compassionate head of Buddha. Just as the other pieces, the exact provenance of this is also not known. On this head, the locks of hair have been depicted with round depressions. A similar way of rendering hair locks is also noticed on the head of a Buddha figure found from the Jaulian monastery at Taxila. That the head of our issue hails from the same site may further be proved by its fleshy face which is one of the characteristics of Jaulian faces. The eyes on this head are open and full of compssion. There are faint traces of red and black colours noticed on different places of this face. While the stone sculptures discussed above are dated roughly in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., this stucco head may be placed in the 4th century A.D.

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1. Bharat Kala Bhavan has twenty-five stone sculptures (Acc. Nos. 733-755 and 23253 and 23499) and nineteen stucco fragments (Acc. Nos. 757-775). Of these, two sculptures (Acc. Nos. 23253 and 23499) came to this museum from Smt. Sarojini Gupta of Varanasi who donated them after the death of her husband, who actually collected them, but she could not supply the details of their background. Another Gandhāran sculpture showing a tri-ratna emblem on the top of a pillar being worshipped by devotees came to this collection on a long term loan from Prof. Walter Spink of Ann Arbor University of Michigan in U.S.A.
2. Eliky S. Zannas, 'Two Gandhāran Masterpieces', *Chhavi* I, *The Golden Jubilee Volume of Bharat Kala Bhavan*, 1972, pp. 309-315.
3. Temara Talbot Rice, *Ancient Art of Central Asia*, The World of Art Library, London, 1965, p. 148.
4. S.K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculptures*, First Edition, 1957, pp. 71-74.
5. F.D.K. Bosch, *Bibliotheca Orientatis*, VII, 1950, p. 91.
6. Harold Ingholts, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, pp. 22-23.
7. Maurizio Taddei, *Archaeologia Mundi*, India, translated by James Hogarth, Geneva, 1970, pp. 84-94.
8. M. Ishtiaq Khan, 'Mathura Objects in Taxila Museum,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, XI, 1966, pp. 44-49.
9. Maurizio Taddei, *op. cit.*, p. 95 and Pl. 125.
10. Madeleine Hallade, *Gandhāran Art of Northern India*, New York, p. 77.
11. Stucco is dehydrated lime (calcium carbonate) mixed with finely pulverised marble dust and glue and sometimes reinforced with hair. The mixture is weather resisting and can be coloured (vide ***Oxford Companion of Art***, Ed. by Harold Osborn, Oxford, 1970, pp. 1109-1110).
12. Sir John Marshall, *JRAS*, 1946-47, p. 16 ff.
13. Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, I, 42.
14. Tamara Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
15. M. Grousset, *In the Footsteps of Buddha*, p. 84.
16. Madeleine Hallade, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
17. Tamara Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
18. There is a Chinese reference to slabs of sandlewood that was used by the Bodhisattva as writing board (vide *Guide to Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, Graeco-*Buddhist School of Gandhāra* by N.G. Majumdar, 1937, p. 41, f.n. 2).

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19. See *Catalogue Indische Kunst* published by Museum fur Kunst and Gewerbe Hamburg Steintorplatz, 1966. Kat. No. 20. Beside this head, there are two almost intact seated Bodhisattva images showing him undergoing severe fasting and austerities in the collection of Lahore and Peshawar Museums. Comparatively, the Peshawar figure is more skeletal in look and its expression is more exaggerated.
20. Cf. Bodhisattvas head-gear from Shahbazgarhi, now in Musee Guimet, Paris, and see plate 13 of *Indian Art* edited by M.M. Dereck, Paul Hamlyn, 1967.
21. For similar types of Bodhisattvas see *Bodhisattva of Fine Arts Museum*, Boston (*vide* T.T. Rice, *op. cit.*, Pl. 140, Bodhisattva of Shahbazgarhi, Musee Guimet, Paris and Buddha from Loriyan Tongai, Fig. 63 of *Survey of Indian Sculptures* by S.K. Saraswati).
22. In his two handed form Maitreya holds in his right hand a stalk of Nāgakeśara flower while in his left hand he carries a Kamaṇḍalu. *Vide* B. Bhattacharyya, *Bauddhader Dev-Devī* (Bengali) published by Visvabharati Granthalaya, p. 30. A. Getty says that a scarf near the Waist of Maitreya may be regarded as one of his cognizances but to Saraswati this element is a doubtful mark.
23. For details about stone trays see Marshall's *Taxila*, II, pp. 493-98.

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Images of Dancing Ganesa from Bihar

PRAHALAD SINGH

Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom, remover of obstacles and bestower of success, occupies an important place in the Hindu pantheon from very early times. Although the origin of the cult of Gaṇeśa is shrouded in obscurity, it became very popular in the Gupta and the post-Gupta Pāla-Sena periods and he is still considered as the supreme deity of the Hindus and all the religious ceremony begins with the worship and chanting of the *Maṅtras* of Gaṇeśa. In the early Indian texts,[1] he is described as *Gaṇa* of Rūdra, a harmful and destructive god. In the *Manāvagṛhyasūtra*,[2] the Gaṇapatis or the Vināyakas inspired the dread and the contempt. According to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*[3] Vināyaka was appointed by Rūdra and Brahmā to the leadership of the *Gaṇas* to create obstacles in the *Yajñas*.

But in some *Purāṇas* like *Siva*, *Līṅga*, *Gaṇeśa* and *Brahmavaivarta*, etc., Gaṇeśa achieves an idependent status and is represented as a benevolent god commanding excessive devotion to some people popularly known as *Gāṇapatyās*.

Bihar has yeilded a large number of Pāla-Sena images of Gaṇeśa datable between 8th and the 12th centuries A.D., showing large varieties of forms. Gaṇeśa has been generally represented as sitting (*āsīn*), standing (*sthānak*) and dancing (*nṛtyarata*). Sitting (*āsīn*) and standing (*sthānaka*) images of Gaṇeśa have been discovered from all parts of Bihar, but the dancing images are also not rare. The worship of the images of dancing Gaṇeśa was very popular and widely favoured. Although four armed dancing images of Gaṇeśa are extremely rare, but six-armed and eight-armed sculptures of dancing Gaṇeśa found from this state are greater in number.[4]

According to the *Kṛyākramodyota*[5] as quoted by Gopinath Rao, the images of the dancing Gaṇeśa should have eight hands, holding in seven of them, the *Pāśa*, the *aṅkuśa*, the *Kuṭhāra* (battle-axe), cakes, the *daṅta* (*sva-daṅta*), the *valaya* (a quoit) and the *aṅguliya* (a ring), whereas the remaining one should be freely hanging so as to be helpful to the various movements of the dance. Rao observes that 'in order to show the god as dancing he is sculptured with the legs slightly bent and resting on the *padmīsana*, and the right leg also bent and held up in the air.[6] He, however, wrongly holds that the dancing Gaṇeśa has generally four arms and not eight as described in the literature.[7]

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The sculpture representing the dancing Gaṇeśa found from eastern India are mostly of six and eight arms.

One of the finest sculptures, showintg the dancing figures of Gaṇeśa lies in a local Kāli temple at the village of Bela in the Police Station of the some name in the Gaya district of Bihar.[8] The sculpture measuring 2'8" × 1'9" has been carved out in a stelae of black basalt of very fine quality. The sculptor has achieved considerable success in infusing life in the sculpture by showing rhythmic movement of the hands, legs and the body. It is a fine work of art of high merit showing superb beauty of the figure engaged in the fast movement of the dance. Gaṇeśa is engaged in dancing on a *triratha* lotus throne (*padmāsana*) placed on a high pedestal containing the representation of a spirited figure of his vāhana, the mouse observing the dance performed by his master. The stelae in which the sculpture has been carved out is rounded and broken at the top. The halo is decorated by two pairs of incised semi-oval lines ending on either side of the head of the god. The head of Gaṇeśa is slightly curved towards the right; but the trunk is bent towards the left and its proboscis is placed into a pot containing the sweet-balls (*modaka*) held in his middle left hand.

It may be noted that the sculpture under discussion is six-armed holding lotus stalk (*nilotpala*) in the middle or the main right hand and a ring (*aṅguliya*) like object in the upper raised (right) hand. The god holds the shaft of a *kuṭhāra* (battle-axe) in his lower left hand and a pot of *modaka* (sweet-balls) in his middle left hand from which the god is taking the sweets by putting the proboscis of his trunk into it. The upper or front left hand of the figure is twisted and held loosely across the left chest and the pot-belly stretching up to the right thigh with the palm opening towards the front giving an effect of the movement of the dance. The pot-belly of the god is realistically modelled. The treatment of the legs shows the fast movement of the dance. The left leg of Gaṇeśa is artistically bent and placed on the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) and the right also bent in the similar fashion, is being uplifted and touching the *padmāsana* with the toes. On the technical ground the images may be dated to the 10th Century A.D.

Gaṇeśa wears a crown and ear-rings, beaded necklace and *ratnopavita* which is hanging from his left shoulder. The god is also adorned with wristlets, armlets and girdle around his pot-belly. It may be noted in this connection that there is a representation, of two seated figures-one each on either side of the god. They are engaged in playing on the musical instruments. The right one is playing on *tablā* with his left hand placed on it and the right raised above. The left figure is dramatically seated and playing with *Jhāla*. These figures are so nicely depicted that they create a harmonious atmosphere in the presentation of the dance of their master, Lord Gaṇeśa.

Interestingly enough, another remarkable dancing sculpture of Gaṇeśa[9] has been recently acquired by the Registering Office, Gaya Circle, from the village of Kachnama in the same Disctrict about 6 miles to the east of the same Railway Station on the Patna-Gaya branch of the Eastern Railway.[10] The sculpture is now preserved in the office of the Registering Officer, Gaya Circle, Gaya. It is eight-armed figure and has been carved out in a stelae of black basalt of inferior quality probably brought from the

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local Barabar Hills. The sculpture measures 2'1"×1'6". It is rounded at the top. As in the case of preceding sculpture, the present one also represents the god dancing over a *pañcaratha* pedestal with his legs placed on the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) in the similar fashion as in the previous example.

It may be noted that the sculpture under discussion holds a snake in his lower right hand, *Kuṭhāra* (or battle-axe) in the middle right hand and *Japamālā* (or *akṣamālā*) in his back up-raised right hand. His front right and the lower left hands are broken. In the two of his middle left hands, the god carries his own broken tusk (*sva-daṅta* and a lotus (*nīlotpala*). The *nīlotpala* is partly broken. The upper left hand of the figure is upraised in the dancing pose. Gaṇeśa wears a crown over his head which is partly broken. This head is turned towards the right and the lower portion of his trunk is damaged. The sculpture also shows the representation of two seated attendants one each on either side of the dancing figure. They are engaged in playing on the musical instruments. As compared to the sculpture described above, the present one also bears the representation of two flying *Gaṅdharvas* (one each on either side of Gaṇeśa) carrying garland in their hands. The *vāhana*, the mouse, is represented on the pedestal just below his feet with his head raised towards the right. From the stylistic point of view the sculpture may be dated to the 9th Century A.D.

Still another interesting sculpture showing eight-armed dancing figure of Gaṇeśa is in the Krishna Dwarika temple[11] of Gaya, at a near distance to the west of the well-known Viṣṇupada temple of Gaya. The sculpture is made of black basalt. Gaṇeśa is depicted as dancing on a high pedestal of *pañcaratha* type. The head of Gaṇeśa is turned towards the right and the trunk towards the left. The god holds a snake in his lower right hand, *Kuṭhāra* (or battle-axe) in his middle right hand and *Japamālā* (or *akṣamālā*) in his upper right hand. The front right hand is held in the *abhayamudrā*. The treatment of his front or upper left hand is similar to the Kachnama figure with the upper left hand stretched straight on his left shoulder depicting and dancing action.

It may be noted in this connection that the god carried his own tusk (or *svadaṅta*) in his middle right hand; but the object held in his lower left hand is broken. His front left hand is also damaged. The representation of a bunch of mangoes with leaves (symbol of prosperity) and a pair of *Gaṅdhārvas* one each on either side of the head of Gaṇeśa is somewhat similar to the other sculpture described here. The *halo* is decorated by deep oval lines around the head of the god. As compared to the previous sculptures, the present figure also wears various ornaments such as armlets, wristlets and girdle around his pot-belly and *Yajñopavīta* etc. The musicians seated on the either side of the dancing figure are nicely depicted and present a harmonious relation with the dancing figure.

Another fine sculpture found from Bihar showing eight-armed figure of dancing Gaṇeśa measuring 3'×1.8", is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[12] The god is represented as holding a serpent in his two upper hands over his head. In his two right hands the god carries a battle-axe (*Kuṭhāra*) and a rosary (*akṣamālā*) while his third right hand is in *Vyākhyāna mudrā*. In two of his left hands, the god holds a fruit

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and a bell and the third one is held near the pot-belly. Gaṇeśa is attended by a figure on either side, the left one holding a vessel (*purṇa-ghaṭa*) suggestive of prosperity.

An interesting four-armed dancing figure of Gaṇeśa represented on a Śiva-*liṅga* with other cult deities like Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya is enshrined in a Śiva-temple on the bank of Ganges at the Adalat ghat, Patna.[13] The *liṅga* is chamfered into four parts. The side facing north represents the figure of Gaṇeśa dancing on a *pañcaratha* pedestal. His front right hand is held in the *daṅda-hasta*-pose drawn across his belly showing the god dancing, while his front left hand holds a pot of sweet-balls (*modaka*) and the proboscis of his trunk is placed into it. In his right back hand the deity holds a raddish (*mulaka*) while the object in his back left hand is not clear. His fan-like ears are realistically treated by showing the minute details. The god wears a decorated *jaṭāmukuṭa* adorned with a crescent (*ardhacandra*). Like the other sculptures of Gaṇeśa, the god wears various ornaments and *yajñopavīta*. It may be pointed out in this connection that a *pañcāyatana* śiva-*liṅga* from Bihar now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,[14] also exhibits four cult deities i.e., Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya. The sculpture corresponds in the iconographic details with the *liṅga* under discussion.

The next interesting eight-armed dancing sculpture of Gaṇeśa lies in the village of Oyana in the Ghoshi Police Station of the Gaya district. The village is situated on the Jehanabad-Ekangarsarai road about five kilometres to the east of Kako and 10 kilometres from the Jehanabad railway station on the Patna-Gaya line. The village itself is situated on the old site and the image of black stone are often discovered by the villagers while digging the foundation of the houses.

The present sculpture is lying at the *Jagdaṁbā-Sthāna* a near distance to the north-west of the house of Shri Naresh Sharma of the same village.[15] The sculpture is profusely ornamented and the god wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and various ornaments such as *ekāvalī*, *ratnopavita*, *vājubanda*, *Kaṅgana*, *mekhalā* etc. The right leg of the god is pianted on the *āsana* (throne) and the left is uplifted and bent in the dancing posture. Gaṇeśa is dancing on the tips of the left toes.

It may be noted in this connection that the god holds a snake in his two upper hands and *parasu* (or battle-axe) and *japamālā* in the two right hands. His fourth right hand is held in the *abhayamudrā*. In his left hands Gaṇeśa holds the tail of a serpent, *nīlotpala* (or lotus) and *laḍḍu-Bhāṇḍa* (or pot of sweets). The trunk is turned to the left and is slightly damaged. On the stylistic ground the sculpture may be dated to about the 10th Century A.D.

Another interesting sculpture of dancing Gaṇeśa has been found near Katra in the Muzaffarpur district. It is a six-armed figure, holding *paraśu* and *svadaṅta* in his two right hands. The third right hand is held in the *abhayamudrā*. The upper left hand of the god is outstretched straight above the left shoulder. Other hands are damaged. The peculiar feature of the present sculpture is that the god's both the legs are uplifted and weight of the body is equally balanced on the toes of both the legs. The representation of a *purṇaghata* on the padestal is also interesting. The sculpture may be dated to the 10th Century A.D.[16]

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Still another remarkable sculpture showing the dancing figure of Gaṇeśa has been found from the village of Eksari in the Ekma police station of the Saran district. The sculpture is made of black basalt. It is now preserved in the Patna Museum. The Eksari figure of the dancing Gaṇeśa bears close affinity with the Kali temple (Belaganj) image representing the similar treatment of the head, legs and the body. The present figure is also provided with six-arms holding the shaft of a battle-axe (*Kuṭhāra*) in his lower right hand and carrying a ring *aṅguliya* like object in the upper right hand. His front right hand is folded "and left hanging freely is order to accentuating the dynamicity of the god engaged in dancing." In the upper left hand, the god is holding a serpent twisted into a coil with its expanded hood just above his fist. Ganeśa carries his own broken tusk (*svadaṅta*) in his main left hand and has a sweet-pot in his lower left hand from which the god is taking the sweets by turning his trunk towards the right and applying the proboscis into it.[17]

The South Indian images or Gaṇeśa wear *Karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* but in the early representation in the western and the Eastern Chāḷukyan area the crown is absent. The Gupta sculptures of Gaṇeśa at Deogarh Jhansi district are without the *Kirīṭa* embodies Gupta tradition, the source of inspiration for the style in Chāḷukyan area. Like Śiva, Gaṇeśa figures of Eastern India wears *Jaṭā-mukuṭa*, a feature absent elsewhere in India. The later Chālukyan images show profuse decorative treatment and the early sculptures of Gaṇeśa of the Kanarese district are adorned with 'strings of bells', but the Chāḷukyan and Hoysala sculptures show profuse pearl and gem-set jewellery adorning this deity. Gaṇeśa of Java wears a head gear of a skull.[18]

REFERENCES

1. In the *Ṛgveda* (II. 23. I) Brahmanaspati is called Gaṇapati.
2. II. 14. *Vināyakah karmavighna-siddhārtha viniyōjitah /*
   yaṇānāmādhipatye ca Rūdren-Brahmanātathā //
3. I. 271, 285, 290. In the *Yajurveda* Gaṇeśa is described as Gaṇapati, Priyapati and Nidhipati etc.
4. The cult of Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa was very popular in Bihar and a large number pāla-Sena images and shrines of Gaṇeśa have been found at the places like Bihar-Sharif, Rajgir and Sohsarai (Nalanda district), Ramsila, Umga hill, Rajnagar, Vasukinath, Sitamarhi, Ajgaibinath, Deoghar, Okari, Ghejan, Bodhgaya, Rema, Kanchnama, Deo and Konch etc.
5. Rao, *EHI*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 11.
6. Rao, *loc. cit.*
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 59.
8. Pl. 56.
9. Pl. 57.
10. The present sculpture of the dancing Gaṇeśa was discovered alongwith an image of *Siṁhavāhinī Durgā* seated in *Lalitāsana* on a lotus throne placed on the back of a seated lion (pl. 58). The left leg of the image is folded and placed on the *padmāsana*, but the right one is hanging down and placed on a full-bloomed lotus. Durgā holds a *triśūla* in her left hand and the right hand is held in the *varadamudrā*.
11. Pl. 59.

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12. I. Bloch, *Supplementary catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 89; *JBRS*, Vol. LVI, pts. I-IV, p. 65.
13. *JBRS*, Vol. LV, pp. 122 ff; Vol. LVI, pts. I-IV, p. 65.
14. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 545, Pl. XLVI, fig. 2.
15. The author is very much thankful to Shri Naresh Sharma of the village of Oyana for his valuable co-operation and help.
16. Pl. 59.
17. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXI, pt. III, pp. 155 ff; *ibid.*, Vol. LVI, pts. I-IV, p, 62 f. Another notable sculpture of eight-handed dancing Gaṇeśa has been found in the village of Birpur in the Begusarai Sub-Division of the Monghyr district. See *ibid.*, vol. XLIII, pts. III-IV, pp. 372 ff; Vol. LVI, pts. I-IV, p. 64 f. A six-armed dancing image of Gaṇeśa of black stone found from Baidrabad, Arbal police station of the Gaya district is now preserved in the Gaya Museum, Gaya.
18. See *Ancient India*, No. 6 (Jan. 1950), p. 30.

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Identification and Origin of the 'Sprinkler'

ARUN K. NAG

A typical vessel having an oval bulbous body, a long narrow neck and a spout (Pl. 60), generally made of fine reddish clay and very often with a lustrous red slip has been found in most of the historical sites of India except the southernmost region. Its use and origin is still obscure, though several scholars tried to explain it in various ways. Marshall described this vessel as 'life-breathing vessel of the Chinese pilgrims.'[1] He also presumed that 'this may have been the ordinary drinking bottle of the monks.'[2] One of the earliest use of the term 'sprinkler' can be found in the report of the excavations at Hastinapur,[3] and the author, in all probability echoed the verbal tradition. And the name, though evidently a misnomer, gained popularity afterwards.

The findspots of this vessel cover a vast area and as new finds are reported frequently, their distribution is gradually widening. The horizon of its distribution extends from Takṣaśilā[4] in the north to Brahmapurī (Kolhapur)[5] in the south, and Somnath[6] in the west to Paharpur (Bangladesh)[7] in the east. Within this boundary it occurs in sites like Rupar,[8] Hastināpura,[9] Mathurā,[10] Kauśāmbī,[11] Bhita,[12] Jhusi,[13] Sahet-Mahet,[14] Tripuri,[15] Rajghat,[16] Rangmahal,[17] Ujjain,[18] Nevasa,[19] Baroda[20] etc. Fragments of this type of vessel have been found in abundance on the sites of Buddhist monasteries like Ghositārāma monastery at Kauśāmbī[21] or Raktamṛittikā Mahāvihāra at Rajbadidanga (Karṇasuvarṇa)[22] or in the caves of Ajanta,[23] Karle,[24] Kanheri,[25] Junar[26] etc.

In the report of the excavations at Bhita,[27] Marshall assigned a single specimen[28] of this type of vessel to the Maurya, Śuṅga and Andhra periods. But another complete specimen[29] was ascribed to the Kuṣāṇa period. At Rupar[30] these vessels were found from the levels belonging to period IV, the date of which has been bracketed between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 600. At Hastināpura[31] it comes from period IV, assignable to early 2nd century B.C. to the end of 3rd century A.D. At Kauśāmbī[32] it occurs from sub-period V (A.D. 25-100) to sub-period VII (A.D. 175-200) but with greater concentration in sub-period VI (A.D. 100-125). In other sites like Mathurā,[33] Nevasa,[34] Karṇasuvarṇa,[35] Rajghat,[36] Ujjain[37] etc., it was found from the levels datable from the Kuṣāṇa to the Gupta periods. It seems from the above data that this pottery was prevalent from the beginning of the Christian era and continued upto at least 6-7th centuries A.D. and possibly further.

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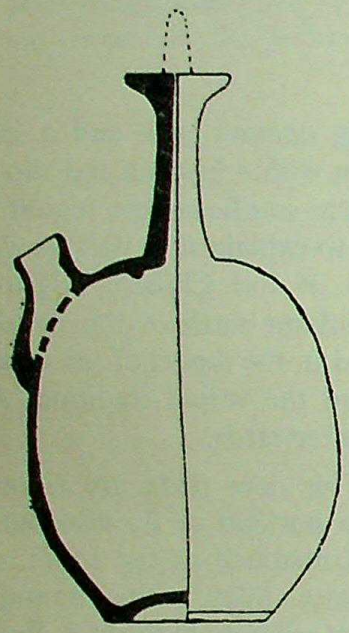
Although these vessels were often described under the general category of 'spouted vessels'[38] its exceptional features deserve special attention. The typical features which made it different from other spouted vessels are : (i) long narrow bottle-neck, (ii) elliptical body, either round or flat based, and (iii) fine fabric often with a reddish slip. Two main types with several varieties of each can be recognised. Type I : has long narrow neck with a rimtop and a small opening and an almost vertical spout (sometimes a strainer attached at its junction with main body) (Fig. 1). Variant *Ia* : round body with short neck, *Ib* : funnel-mouthed spout and ring base, *Ic* : elaborate squarish neck with spout, *Id* : flanged rimtop and a conical knobbed opening, *Ie* : obliquely cut flanged rim, *If* : pointed flange and *Ig* : knob with a spherical tip (Fig. 2a-g) Variants *Ib* and *Ic*



Kauśāmbī

Fig. 1

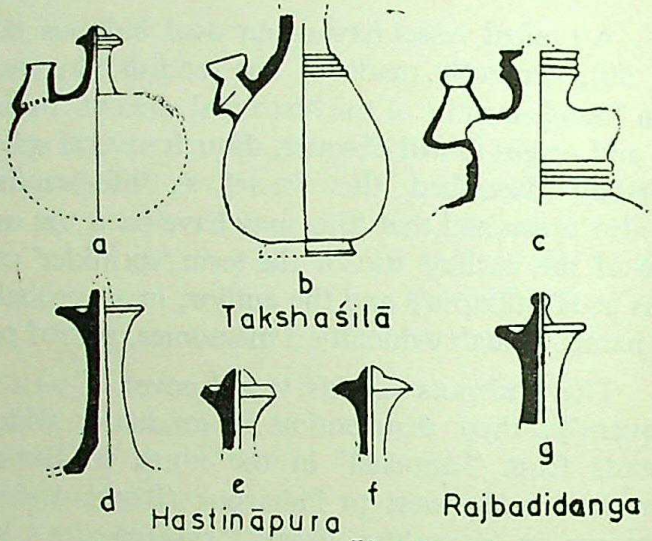


Fig. 2

are unique specimens from Takṣaśilā. Type II : has open mouthed long narrow neck and a hole either (Variant *IIa*) running through the neck (Fig. 3) or (Variant *IIb*) pierced at the base of the neck (Fig. 3a).

These vessels were manufactured from two or three pieces. The long neck was attached to the shoulder and in turn the shoulder was fixed to the body. The joints were smoothed over externally (Fig. 4).

Dikshit[39] identified the second type of the vessels under discussion with '*Dhamma-Kāraka*' mentioned in Buddhist religious texts like *Culluvagga* or *Mahāvaṁsa*. Rhys Davids[40] translated the relevant word *Culluvagga* V. 13 : 1, VI. 21 : 3) as a regulation water pot and explained in the footnote as "*Dhamma-Kārakam* : Doubtless a water pot with a strainer so fixed into it that a quantity of water could be filtered quietly." Again in the same text,[41] Davids transcribed it as the 'regulation strainer'. Unfortunately none

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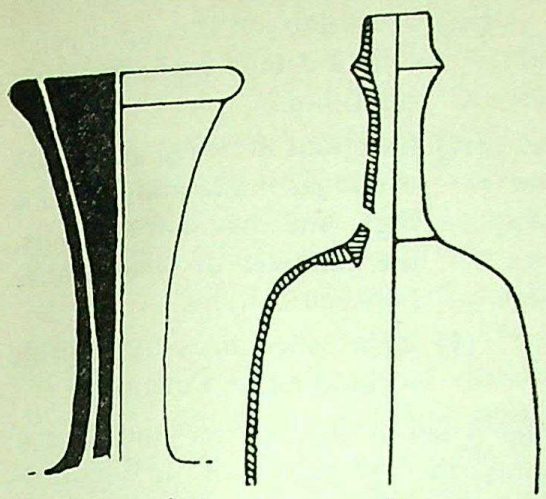
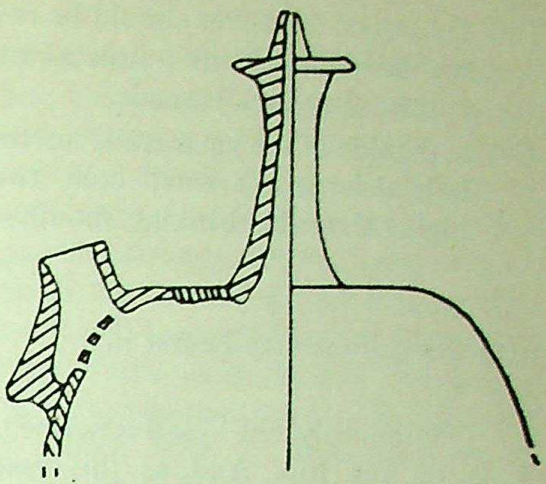


Tripuri

Fig.3



a Rangmahal

Rangmahal

Fig. 4

of these vessels described by Dikshit had strainers or even the spouts and naturally it does not prove beyond doubt that this vessel can be identified with that '*Dhamma-Kāraka*'. Moreover, the description of the said texts is not adequate for identifying a particular type of pottery. Dikshit himself described its (i.e. *Dhamma-Kāraka*) distinguishing feature 'which is an additional hole adjacent to the central channel', surprisingly enough which is not at all mentioned in the description of *Dhamma-Kāraka* in *Culluvagga* or *Mahāvaṁsa*.

About the identification of the first type of these vessels, long ago, Marshall[12] referred to the account of famous Chinese traveller I-Tsing regarding the water vessels of the Buddhist monks. In that account[13] I-Tsing gave an excellent description of the two water pots used by the Buddhist monks—"The clean water is kept separately from water for cleansing purposes (Lit. 'touched' water), and there are two kinds of jars (i.e. *Kuṇḍī* and *Kalaśa*) for each. Earthenware or porcelain is used for the clean jar, and the jar for water for cleansing purposes is made of copper or iron . . . . A jar (*for drinking-A.K.N*,) must be made to fit ones' mouth; the top of the cover should be two fingers widths (*aṅgulas*) high; in it a hole as small as a copper chopstick is made.

"Fresh water for drinking must be kept in such a jar. At the side of the jar there is another round hole as large as a small coin, two fingers higher than the drinking-mouth. This hole is used for pouring in water; two or three gallons may be put in it."

This description completely corresponds with the vessel under discussion. A comparison between the features of the vessel described by I-Tsing and the so-called 'sprinkler' reveals that :

According to I-Tsing's description	*'Sprinkler'*
(i) Earthenware or porcelain	(i) only earthenware
(ii) (the drinking mouth) must fit one's mouth	(ii) the rim-top will fit one's mouth

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(iii) the top of the cover should be two fingers widths high and in it a hole as small as a copper chopstick is made

(iv) at the side of the jar there is another round hole as large as a small coin, two fingers higher than the drinking mouth

(v) 2/3 gallons may be put in it.

(iii) the 'knob' on the top is generally 2-3 cms high, having a small hole

(iv) the spout attached at the side of the jar is generally 3-5 cms high and has a round hole, the diameter of which varies between 2-3 cms

(v) larger specimens are capable of holding that quantity.

Summarily, the vessel described by I-Tsing had a spout on the side and a small hole on the top. And as this vessel was the prescribed water-pot of the Buddhists, one should expect a large number of findings of the same in the Buddhist sites. Curiously enough, no other vessel has been discovered so far in those sites except 'sprinkler' which has such a small hole on the top and a spout on the side with a larger hole.

The use of the 'sprinkler' was a riddle to the scholars, its unusual form led to the belief[44] that the small hole served the purpose of an air-passage and the spout, of pouring water. The peculiar name probably originated from the assumption that the small hole on the top was used for sprinkling water.

According to I-Tsing the name of this type of vessel was '*Kuṇḍī*'. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, a religious text containing the '*dhyānas*' of Buddhist icons, described Boddhisvattva Maitreya as holding a '*Kuṇḍī*'. In its '*Durgatiparisodhana Maṇḍala*' the description of Bodhisattva Maitreya is as under :

"*Maitreyaḥ pītaḥ savyakareṇa nāgakeśarakusumaṁ Vāmena Kuṇḍiṁ dadhānaḥ.*"[45]

"Maitreya is yellow in colour. He holds in his right hand the flower of *Nāgakeśara* and with the left the *Kuṇḍī*." The icons of Bodhisvattva Maitreya belonging to the Gandhāra School (Pl. 61) or the Mathurā School and his painted image on a Chinese banner painting from Central Asia (Now in National Museum, Delhi) carry such *Kuṇḍīs* in their left hands. The *Kuṇḍīs* in the hands of some of the Gandhāra Maitreyas and the Bodhisvattva Lokesvara (now housed in the Nālandā Museum) (Pl. 62) distinctly show the vertical spout also. The similarity of these *Kuṇḍīs* with the so-called 'sprinklers' is undeniable. On the basis of I-Tsing's reference and these iconic representations, 'sprinkler' can safely be identified with '*Kuṇḍī*'.

The typical features of these *Kuṇḍīs* are also interesting. The knob with a small hole on the top served as the drinking nozzle. The drinker put his lips around it and by lifting the jar was able to drink. The reason behind it, most possibly was to prevent the infiltration of small living beings like insects etc. in drinker's mouth during drinking in keeping with the principle of '*ahiṁsā*'. The strainer in the spout served the same purpose during filling. The round base of the vessel prevented it from getting 'touched'. The user had to carry it or hang. I-Tsing also mentioned[46] the manufacturing of a jar-bag which was made of cotton cloth. Hung from the shoulder the bag containing a jar

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was carried in travelling. Most probably, the monks used to hang it from a tripod during resting period also. The Gandhāra panels depicting *Mahāparinirvāṇa* scene exhibit the jar-bag hanging from a tripod, (to prevent getting 'touched') under Master's bed. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta* of the *Dīghanikāya* described the great decease in details. Towards the end of his journey to Kuśīnagara, Buddha felt thirsty and ordered Ānanda, his chief disciple to bring water. These panels, showing Buddha lying on bed, display all the belongings of a monk, which should be carried during a tour. The gigantic relief of Ajanta cave no. 26, clearly shows a *Kuṇḍī* hanging from tripod, leaving no doubt about the use and the Buddhistic association of this vessel (Pl. 63). Regarding the origin of the 'sprinkler', a number of scholars presumed that it was manufactured under Roman influence. Puri[47] described one 'open mouth' type as 'Buddhist pottery' imported from abroad. Sharma[48] labelled it as 'foreign'. Subbarao[49] detected an important technical affinity between the Roman red wares and the Red Polished Ware. Deshpande[50] opined that the Red Polished Ware was an imitation pottery of the Roman originals and among it the most important type to be copied was that so-called 'sprinkler'. The reasons behind their assumption were : (i) affinity of fabric between the Red Polished Ware and the Samian ware, which was imported from Rome, (ii) findings of 'sprinklers' along with objects of Mediterranean origin and objects of Roman inspiration, and (iii) finding of a so-called bronze prototype of 'sprinkler' at Brahmapuri and (iv) contemporaneity of the Red Polished Ware and imported Roman ware. On the contrary, it can be said that findings of sprinklers along with objects of Mediterranean origin and inspiration only prove the contemporaneity of both and the contemporaneity is not the proof of genealogical link. Secondly, the bronze vessel from Brahmapuri is the only specimen which can be looked upon as a metal prototype. But as Rydh[51] said, "it is unfortunately impossible to say whether it is a Roman object and, if so, where it comes from within the Empire; it is not a well-known type." Moreover, it is also impossible to understand why Deshpande called it a 'prototype' and not a copy of the Indian one. Thirdly, typologically 'sprinkler' is also completely different from the Roman wares. Apart from that the distributional horizons of the Red Polished Ware and the imported Roman ware alongwith their imitations are largely different. Deshpande thought that these Buddhists were liable for the wide diffusion which may have been "caused by its popularity with the Buddhist community..." Why only the Buddhists choose this foreign fabric (and not the shape) and made it so much popular is inexplicable.

Practically, the technique of fine red ware was known to Indian potters long before the Roman contact. The red wares of extremely fine fabric with lustrous red slip which occur in Painted Grey ware and Northern Black Polished ware periods prove that fact. The fabric of those so-called 'sprinklers' has nothing new in characteristics which can invoke the possibility of a foreign contact.

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48

Maluti—the Village of the Gods and Goddesses

H.K. NARAIN

The village Maluti is situated at the extreme east end of Santhal Parganas district in Bihar. It is also connected with a pitch road which joins Dumka-Rampur Hat Highway.

The village Maluti came into light for the first time in the middle of 17th century A.D. as a capital of Naukar Raj or rent free kingdom. The ruling family of Maluti built a large number of temples of which 74 are still preserved. Out of the 74 temples, 54 temples are of *śikara* type and about 20 flat roof temples are dedicated to Goddess Durgā and are under worship. The height of the temples vary from 10 to 15 m. The plinth of the temples are 1m. × 1½ m. above the ground level and steps are provided to reach the entrance door. Of course, the steps have been broken in most of the cases. The temples appear to be typical Bengali thatched cottage type with *śikaras*. They are built on a square or rectangular plinth with a small semi-circular or horse-shoe type arch on the entrance. The temples are constructed of medium size bricks and were plastered. The plaster has gone away but the traces of it are still available. On top of some of the *śikaras*, the tridents are present indicating the shrine to be Śaivaite in nature. The facade of the *śikara* type temples are profusely decorated with terracotta plaques and the other three sides of the temple are plain. Most of the temples are independent but about 8 temples are twins and 2 temples are triplate. One of the temples is constructed on the Orissan Style. These temples were constructed by the rulers of the Roy dynasty of Moureshwar Birbhum of West Bengal. All these temples possess the common feature of being decorated with terracotta plaques representing folk-art in the style of 16th to 18th century A.D. The facade of the temples are decorated with terracotta plaques with different motives carved in the linner design (Pls. 64-69).

The terracotta plaques set on the facade of the temples depict the scene relating to Ramalīlā and Kṛṣnalīlā. It is interesting to note that the shrine belongs to the Śaivaites but the plaques on the entire surface of the facade mostly depict the scene of Vaiṣṇavaite Gods and Goddesses. Majority of the temples are in typical Cola style. The Cola temples consist of only one chamber based on a secure platform. The tower of these temples are shaped like a cage. Actually the Cola huts (popular in Bengali villages) are the roots of these temples. In most cases it is decorated with terracotta plaques.

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On the top of the lintels of almost all the temples we find the scene of the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. In one of the temples, Goddess Durgā killing the demon is depicted on the top of the lintel. It is a solitary and unique example found at this place. The door arches are also very nicely carved. Besides, there are scenes representing such Kṛṣṇalilā scenes as Govardhan dhāraṇa, Cirharaṇ, Vakāsura vadha, Kṛṣṇa playing on flute, Rukmiṇiharaṇa etc. Terracotta plaques which are purely decorative in character are also of great importance. Pilasters are also adorned with terracottas. There is one sculptured piece of *Kīrtimukha* with prominent tusks. Dancing, hunting and playing with musical instruments are the common scenes. The carvings of the terracotta plaques are fine and fresh. They create the impression that they are made on sandstone. Most of the temples bear inscription and many of them are dated.

Thus, the terracotta art of this villages constitutes valuable material for reconstructing the social and the cultural heritage of this area.

It is a remarkable thing that a village like Maluti contains about 74 architecturally important temples and on the basis of the large number of temples constructed in the village, it is better to call the village as "village of Gods and Goddesses."

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49

A Note on the Jhukar Pottery

A.C. PAL

The Jhukar type of pottery is called after the site of its first occurrance. The site is situated about six miles west of the town of Larkana in Sind (Pakistan).[1] In 1928 N.G. Majumdar having discovered the site carried out some tentative investigations at two mounds at Jhukar. The potteries of the Jhukar site also appeared at Chanhudaro, Lahumjo-daro and in the ruins of deserted Harappa settlement. It is at Chanhudaro, which has been excavated by E.J.H. Mackay in the 1934, the largest body of evidence regarding this pottery occurs. Jhukar features as an overlap in the last phase of the Harappan occuption at Chanhudaro. Thus the settlement of this period has been discribed by S. Piggott as one of the 'squatters'[2] among the Harappans. The Jhukar people, according to D.H. Gordon,[3] are 'representative of the period of invasion.' In this connection Gordon pointed out the occurrence of shaft hole axe, compartmental seals, mace head, single loop pins and others at Jhukar. Cassal[4], however, points out that Mahenjo-Daro people settled at Amri and Chanhu-Daro or Jhukar and their pattern of settlement is marked by a number of Jhukar sherds at Mohenjo-Daro.

The Jhukar pottery were found at Hissar III and Anau III at Iran in the 2nd millennium B.C. Gordon, however, went further to suggest that their appearance 'squares with the account of the Aryan invasions'. The material culture represented among the ancient habitations includes rebuilding of house walls, brick floor, fire floors and others. These structural remains might be interpreted as traces of tents rather than permanent settlement on the site. Apart from structures,[5] mention may be made of amulets, beads, metal tools, bone arols and pottery head rest. The material assemblages of this site drives us to stare upon its distinctive feature of the post-Harappan period.

Jhukar pottery is bold in effect so far as its shapes and designs are concerned. Its style, however, has only a little resemblance with that of the Harappan. As far as the difference between the Harappan and Jhukar pottery is concerned it may he said that the red slip employed on some of the Jhukar pottery is coarser and more porous than the Harappan. The fiiring of the Jhukar pottery is also inferior. The occurrence of short spouted vessel, small cup, thick hand made lid with round handle are rather uncommon features of the Harappan culture but commonly met with at sites belonging to the Jhukar culture. Apart from simple curvilinear and geometrical designs such as, oblique strokes, parallel loops, triangles fitted with cross hatching, h arrenge bone, thick spiral

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and others may appear as curious but distinctive feature of the Jhukar culture. They are, however, uncommon to the Harappan culture (pl. 70).

On the basis of the study of elementary shapes and designs (pls. 70-71) of Jhukar pottery it appears that Jhukar pottery has at least 17 shapes and twenty-seven design elements. With a few exceptions most of the pottery shapes of Jhukar ware are finished on wheel. As such the Jhukar pottery is characterised by a flat base. The design elements signifies the predominance of carvilinear pattern though the typical Harappan pattern of concentric circle (pl. 70 nos. 13, 14 & 15) are not wanting in the Jhukar ware. The animal figure of ibex (pl. 70 no. 27) has been found rarely on Jhukar pottery. The conventional pipal tree motif of the Harappan period was discarded by the Jhukar potter who favoured a highly stylised plant motif, possibly derived from the lotus petals. The thick spiral motif (pl. 70 no. 22) and ball and steam motif (pl. 70 no. 24) are, interesting features of this pottery. The set of design elements. Thus[5] reflects a striking similarity with those characterising the central Indian Chalcolithic culture rather than with those associated with the Harappan culture.

The pattern displayed by the Jhukar pottery is dissimilar from what we already have in our sub-continent in the post-Harappan chronological horizon. We can feel that we are witnessing the arrival of new people not as the destroyer of Harappan civilisation but as a promotor of new features on our soil.

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50

A Rare Mathura-Head in the Bharatiya Kala Bhawan, Gaya

NARENDRA KUMAR SINHA

The Bharatiya Kala Bhawan, Anugrah Road, Gaya has a rich collection of antiquities and art-objects acquired from the neighbouring districts of Gaya. A beautiful head of a *Yogī* in meditation is a rare collection of the Mathura School of Art of the Kuṣāṇa period. The head is made of red-sandstone measuring 11×14 c.m. in size. The rounded facial form and the *ardhonmilita* (half closed) heavily ladden eyes are marvellously modelled and artistically depicted. The facial feature and gesture are expressive of enormous energy 'rather than of repose or sweetness', the characteristic of the early Kuṣāna images of the Gaṅdhāra school. The facial form reflects the inner sense of the *Yogī* deeply engrossed in meditation. The upraised eye-brows and horizontal folds of skin on the forehead emanate the inner energy of *dhyāna.* The rounded facial appearance and elaborate *Jaṭā* tied on the head bear close affinity with the *uṣṇiṣa* of Bodhisvattva represented in a Gaṅdhāra relief of Vessantara *Jātaka* of the Kuṣāṇa period in the Boston Museum.[1]

It may be noted in this connection that the heavy locks of *Jaṭā* of the *Yogī* in question, is represented as falling on the either side of the face and tied by two locks above his forehead. The end of the *Jaṭā* is tied in a rounded knot at the top and may be compared with the *Uṣṇiṣa* of Buddha of the Gaṅdhāra and the Mathurā schools of the Kuṣāṇa period.[2]

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51

A Post-Asokan Inscription from Pangoraria in the Vindhyan Range

H. SARKAR

A version of the Minor Rock-edict I of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) was discovered in January 1976 at Pangoraria, also spelt Panguraria, in Budhni Tehasil of the District Sehore, Madhya Pradesh, by the members of the Prehistory Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. This was found engraved on the facade of a rockshelter locally known as Saru-Maru-ki-Kothadi. D.C. Sircar has already published its gist in two periodicals[1] while the text and translation of this Minor Rock-edict I may be seen in one of his recent books.[2] This edict happens to be third in Madhya Pradesh; and so far sixteen versions of this edict, including the one found at Nittur, in Karnataka, are known to us.

Shortly after the discovery of the Minor Rock-edict I, a two-line inscription in early Brahmi characters was discovered from a stupa-site at Pangoraria. This was also discovered by the Prehistory Branch which, under the supervision of K.D. Banerjee, has been exploring, since last several years, the rock-shelters and its paintings in the Vindhyan region along the river Narmada. The photograph of the present inscription was kindly supplied by K.D. Banerjee along with the photographs of the stupa (Pl. 73) and its crowning umbrella (Pl. 74). He was also kind enough to send me a brief note on the site which is reproduced below:—

> Pangoraria (22° 44′ N; 77° 31′ 20° E) is on the Budni-Rehti highway. It is on the southern slope of the Vindhyas and comes under the revenue jurisdiction of Budni Tehsil of Sehore district.
>
> The Pangoraria monastery is structured into two terraces by dressed slabs of sandstone obtained locally. The top terrace shows a rock-shelter. This was made into a hall by erecting a wall of dressed slabs of stone. At the entrance of the hall is the Aśokan Minor Rock-edict which has already been edited by Professor D.C. Sircar. In this terrace there were at least three small stupas, two of which cannot be traced now.
>
> In the second platform was a bigger stupa. The whole stupa looked like a heap of rubbles. After cleaning, it was found that but for the superstructure the stupa was practically intact. The superstructure was disturbed apparently to get at the

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casket buried inside. The umbrella with its stave was found fallen by the side of the stupa under the rubble heap. The inscription in question is inscribed on this stave.

From the structured base of the second terrace the natural slope of the hill comes to the level ground. Here there is a big stupa. Only the outline of it can be seen today.

From over the roof of the rock-shelter in the top terrace the natural slope of the hill goes towards its crest. Here there are remains of structures, and walls. Some of the structures were obviously cells for the monastery.

Three things are obvious in Banerjee's note. First, the present location of the monastic establishment at Pangoraria is such as to suggest its antiquity to the times of Aśoka. The introductory section of the Minor Rock-edict I here states, to quote D.C. Sircar's translation, that the 'The King named Priyadarsin (writes) to *Kumara* Saṁva from (his) march (of pilgrimage) to the (Buddhist) monastery at Upunitha or Opunitha in Maṇema-deśa.' It is, however, not clear if this monastery is the same as the one at Pangoraria, the village-name as suggested by D.C. Sircar being actually Pānguḍāḍiyām. But 'the city, where Aśoka's viceroy named Saṁva was stationed must have been' says D.C. Sircar, 'situated near the inscribed rock at Panguraria . . . .'[3] Second, the present highway seems to be along an ancient route, for quite often Buddhist monasteries and even Aśokan edicts were set up along the highways or crossroads. Third, the stupa disclosed here was an important edifice, associated with an inscribed crowning member, which bears imprint of fine workmanship. This big stupa has projections on two sides similar to the *āyaka*-platforms common in the stupa-architecture of Āndhradeśa.

The two-line inscription (Pl. 75) is engraved on *yashṭi* or shaft of the stone-carved *chhatra* or umbrella having radiating ribs, in three circular divisions, the central one around the shaft having no decoration. At present the shaft has got detached from the umbrella with a bevelled edge. It must have taken quite some time to get this *chhatra* carved out of the sandstone block.

The inscription is in Prakrit and records the donation of this very umbrella. It reads as follows :

(first line) *Saṁgharakhitāya bhicchuniya dāna Koramaṁkaya atevasinihi Karapitam*
(second line) *Pusaya cha Dhamarakhitaya cha Arahaya cha. Etā atevasiniyo Karāpika chhatasa*

Perhaps the purport of the inscription is as follows :

It was a gift of Bhikshsuni Saṁgharakhitā and was got executed by the female disciples of Koramaṁka. The female disciples Pusā, Dharmarakshitā and Arahā got the umbrella carved. Thus it was Saṁgharakhitā who seemed to be the main donor and her female disciples executed the work. In all likelihood, their monastery, may be a nunnery, was located at a place called Koramaṁka.

On superficial appearance the inscription looks like an Aśokan epigraph but a closer examination will indicate that palaeographically it cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the second century B.C. In fact such donatory records are common at

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sites like Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Amaravati, Ajanta, Bhaja and so on. It is, however, certain that all the letters from this epigraph agree with the Aśokan alphabets particularly of the edict of Pangoraria.

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52

A Note on the Kandahar Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of Asoka

B.N. MUKHERJEE

This inscription is engraved on a block of limestone. The inscribed slab has been procured from the bazar of Kandahar. However, it is believed to have been discovered in the ruins of the old city of Kandadar (Shar-i-Kuna). It might have been originally installed in or near that locality. D. Schlumberger was the first noted scholar to know of the existence of this epigraph in or sometime before May, 1964.[1]

The block of limestone is at present partly broken and is irregular in shape. Its maximum width is 24 cm., height is 18.5 cm. and thickness is 16 cm. It now bears seven lines of inscription in the Aramaic script. All the lines are incomplete. The first two (1-2) lines are mutilated at the beginning and also at the end, while only the opening sections of the last four lines (4-7) are truncated. The initial stage of the third line also is broken. Its final stage is indistinct and may be slightly mutilated. Since the block of stone is broken at the top and also at the bottom, it is not possible to determine correctly the exact number of inscribed lines borne by it originally. Palaeographically the Aramaic inscription is datable to c. 3rd century B.C.

The existing portion of the record can be read as follows : (Pl. 76).

L. 1. ...(*t*) *ys shyt*(*y*) *l* (*?*)...

L. 2. ...(') *p zy tbwt' y'ny hy k'ny* (*s*) (*y*) (?)...

L. 3. [*s*] (*h*) *yty 'rq lwkl*(?)' *l* (*?*)' *lwk'y 'nwpatyptm* (*nh shy*) [*ty*]...(*?*)

L. 4. ...(?)*n 'p hwtyrn wyhwtrwn lptysty kl'*

L. 5. ...[*sh*]*yty* (*l*) *ptysty kl' lyqyrn*

L. 6. ...*wywmhlk'n 'nwpatypty'*

L. 7. ...[*l* (?) *b* (?)] *shyrn l 'bdy'*

The phrases *y'ny hy k'ny sy* of 1.2, *lwk'y'nwpatyptmnh* of 1.3 and *wywmhlk'n 'nwpatypaty'* of 1.6 are certainly not consisted of Aramaic words. On the other hand, as it has already been recognised, these can be considered as comprising transliterations of certain Prakrit words of two sections (marked as "GG" and "HH" by E. Hultzsch) in PE VII of Aśoka.[2] Thus (i) *y'ny hy k'ny sy* may well be a transliteration of *yāni hi*

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kānichi ("whatever");[3] (ii) *lwk'y 'nwpatyptmnh* may stand for *loke anupatipaṁne* ["the world has (i.e. the subjects of the king have) imitated"] (if we consider *'y* of the first word as indicating *e* of *loke* and take *tm* of the second words as expressing the sound of the letter *ṁ* of the corresponding Prakrit term);[4] and (iii) *wywmhlk'n 'nwpatypty,'* may indicate *vayomahālakānāṁ anupaṭipatiyā* ["by proper regard (or respectful behaviour) to the aged"][5] The word *shyty*, which means "(so) it is said"[6] and which appears *inter alia* in 1.3 after *lwk'y 'nwpatyptmnh* may well allude to the latter phrase as occurring in the same language in the original Prakrit draft of PE VII. This inference allows us to think of *...tys* appearing before *shyty* in 1.1 as suggesting (*dhammapatīpa*) *ti cha* ("and practice of Dhamma") of section EE of PE VII.

If some portions of the record in question are transliterations in the Aramaic script of some phrases of PE VII written in Prakrit, other portions, consisting of non-Prakrit words, must be literal or free translations or adaptations into Aramaic of some other phrases of PE VII. The Aramaic expression *'p zy tbwt'* of 1.2 can mean "and (or and which is) goodness" and can remind us of *sādhave cha* ("and goodness") of section EE of PE VII.[7]

The phrase *'rq lkll'* may signify "the word (rq) to [follow] totally or completely" [*K(o)llā*, with adverbial ending—*ā*] and may in a sense allude to *loke.....tam cha anuvidhiyaṁti* ("and to those the word (or the subjects of the king are (i.e. is or are) conforming."[8] It appears that a part of 1.3, read as *rk kll' lwk'y 'nnwpatypatmnh* means that "the world (follows) totally (and) the world is conforming". It translates and transliterates the expression *taṁ loke anupaṭipaṁne tam cha anuvidhiyaṁti* ["the world has (i.e. the subjects of the king have) imitated those (good deeds of the king) and are (i.e. is or are) conforming to these"]. Here the word *loka* has been translated and also transliterated, whereas only the sense of *anuvidhiyaṁti* has perhaps been partly indicated in Aramaic and that too before transliterating *anupaṭipaṁne*. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the person or persons responsible for drafting the Aramaic inscriptions dealt with the subject matters of *inter alia* a portion of PE VII.

The phrase *'p hwtyrn wyhwtrwn* can mean "and (they) have increased (and) (they will continue) to increase",[9] and hence can be accepted as a tolerable rendering in Aramaic of the Prakrit expression (*tena*)-*vaḍhita cha vaḍhisaṁti cha* ["(Thereby) they have increased (i.e. progressed) and will increase (i.e. progress)"].

Of *lptysty l* means "for" and *ptysty* (< Iranian *patiasti*) denotes "obedience". Of the following words *kl'* (*kl'* with adverbial ending—*ā*) may signify "totally" and *lyqyr* may mean "to yqyrn ("precious" or "heavy" persons).[10] The phrase *lptysty kl' lyqyrn* of 1.5 concerned may be translated as "for obedience totally to precious (persons) (i.e. very highly esteemed or venerable man)". This translation at once reminds us of *gulusu sususāyā* ("in obedience to venerable persons)" of section GG. It is interesting to note that a *gulu* (*guru*), like *yqyr*, also means "heavy".

Lbshyrn l'bdy' of 1.7 may be translated as "to week persons and to slaves."[11] Here the first word seems to approximate the sense conveyed by the expression *kapanavalākesu* [in (i.e. to) the miserable and the wretched], and the second word

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indicates a translation of a part of the expression *dāsabhaṭakesu* ["in (i.e. to) slaves and servants"].

It appears that at least certain sections (EE, GG and HH, and also EE ?) of the Prakrit text of PE VII were partly translated and partly transliterated. The transliterated portions were followed by the word *shyty* ("(so) it is said") and thereby indicated as consisting of words "said" in the original Prakrit. The record, engraved in the Aramaic script, is thus written partly in the Aramaic language and partly in an Indian (Prakrit) dialect. So it has been called an Indo-Aramaic inscription.[12] At least it must be regarded as an Aramaic inscription containing *inter alia* quotations from a Prakrit edict.

The present fragmentary state of the inscription as well as of the stone bearing it does not allow us to ascertain whether the whole of the known Prakrit text of PE VII or even the contents of sections EE, FF, GG and HH were fully dealt with at the time of inscribing the document. Nevertheless, the recorded translated and transliterated protions may be indicated in the following way [by underlining the phrases transliterated, translated or adopted (partly or fully) in Aramaic and by putting within big brackets the words not found in translation or transliteration in the extant record].

(EE) [*Esa hi dhaṁmāpadāne dhaṁmapaṭipa*] *ti cha* [*yā iyaṁ dayā dāne sache sochave madave*] *sādhave cha* [*Iokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati ti*] (FF) [*Devānaṁpiye* (*Piyada*) *s*(*i*) *lāja hevaṁ āhā*] (GG) *yāni hi kānichi* [*mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni taṁ*] *loke anupaṭipaṁne taṁ cha anuvidhiyaṁti* (HH) [*tena*] *vaḍhitā cha vadhisaṁti cha* [*mātāpitisu sususāyā*] *gulusu sususāyā vayomahālakānaṁ anupaṭīpattyā* [*babhana-samanesu*] *Kapanavalākesu* [*ava*] *dāsa* [*bhatakesu*] [*sampaṭīpatiya*].

For indicating more clearly the extant record's relationship with the relevant sections (EE-HH) of the known text of PE VII, we can offer the following English translation of the inscription (putting within big brackets the translation of the portions of sections EE-HH not found in any way in the extant record and underlining the translation of transliterated portions of PE VII).

"(EE) [This noble deeds of Dhaṁma] and practice [of Dhaṁma]—(so) it is said—(consisting of) [this (should be these) that (is) (i.e.) compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness] and goodness, [will thus increase [or grow) in the world (or amongst the subjects of the king)] [.]

(FF) [King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśī speaks thus]

(GG) whatever [good deeds have been done by me]-(so) it said-[those] the world has (i.e. the subjects of the king have) to (follow) totally [and] to those the world (i.e. the subjects of the king) is (or are) conforming-(so) it is said (.)

(HH) and [thereby] (they) have increased (i.e. progressed) (and) they will continue) to increase for (i.e. in respect of) obedience totally (i.e. total obedience) [to mother and father]-(so) it is said—for (i.e. in respect of) obedience totally (i.e. total obedience) to the precious (i.e. venerable) persons, by proper regard (or respectful behaviour) to the aged [(and) by attaining to the brahmaṇas and śramaṇas)] (and) [even] to weak (persons) (and) to slaves".

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In the light of the above discussion the extant portion of the record can be tentatively translated as follows :

"(Practice) [of Dhamma]—(so) it is said—to (?) . . . and (or and which is) goodness (.) Whatever . . . . . (so) it is said the world (has) to (follow) totally (and) the world is conforming—(so) it is said— . . . and (they) have increased and (will continue) to increase for (i.e. in respect of) obedience totally . . . . .—so it is said—, for (i.e. in respect of) obedience to precious (i.e. venerable) persons . . . . by proper regard (or respectful behaviour) to the aged . . . to weak (persons) (and) to slaves."

It is interesting to note that the expression '*p zy ṭbwt*' corresponding to *sādhave cha* of the Prakrit text, is immediately followed (without any break in the extant record) by the phrase *y 'ny hy k 'nysy*, which is a transliteration of *yāni hi kānichi* of the Prakrit text. Between *sādhave cha* and *yāni hi kānichi* we have *inter alia lokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati ti*. This expression was not translated or transliterated in the Aramaic record, at least not at the expected place. This and a few other indications, noted above, betray that though the person or persons responsible for drafting the text of the inscription consulted and translated and transliterated portions of the Prakrit text of PE VII, he or they might not have followed it in all meticulous details.

PE VII was caused to be written by Aśoka when he had been "anointed twenty-seven years". So PE VII can be dated to the twenty-eight (current) year counted from the time of his coronation. Our inscription must have been engraved in or after that year.

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1. For Discussion on this inscription, see A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une nouvelle inscription araméenne d' Asoka decouverte à Kandahar (Afghanistan)", *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belle—Lettres*, 1966, pp. 440-451; A. Dupont-Sommer, and E. Benveniste, "Une inscription indo-araméene d'Asoka prouvenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)", *Journal Asiatique*, 1966, pp. 437-465 and plates; C. Caillat, "La sequence SHYTY dans les inscriptions Indo-arameennes d'Asoka", *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 467-470; S. Shaul, "Notes on the New Aśoka Inscription from Kandahar", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Irelahd*, 1969, pp. 118-122.
2. E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. I—*Inscriptions of Asoka*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 131; *JA*, 1966, pp. 447f; *JRAS*, 1969, pp. 118f.
3. *JA*, 1966, p. 447.
4. *JRAS*, 1969, p. 120; *JA*, 1966, p. 449, n.
5. *JA*, 1966, p. 447.
6. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1980, vol. XV, nos. 1 and 2, p. 11.
7. *JA*, 1966, p. 455; *JRAS*, 1966, p. 120; C-F. J-J. Hoftizer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions semitiques de l'Quest*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 21, 74 and 99.
8. *JA*, 1966, p. 456; *GBA*, pp. 18 and 39; *DISO*, pp. 120, *EI*, vol. XXXIV, p. 4.
9. *JA*, 1966, p. 457.
10. *DISO*. p. 110; *JRAS*, 1969, p. 121.
11. *JA*, 1966, p. 463.
12. *JA*, 1966, p. 437.

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1. Brāhmī pilgrims' records behind the temple

2. Brāhmī pilgrim's record behind the temple

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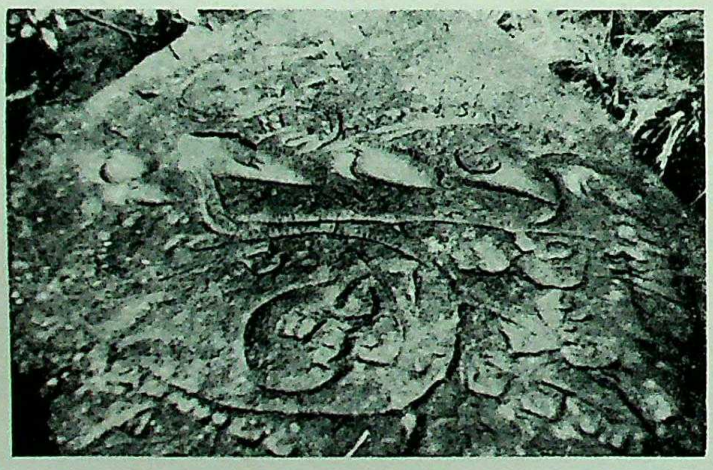
3. Decorative Brāhmī inscription at Site C

4. Śaṅkhalipi inscription at Site A



5. Large Śaṅkhalipi inscription at site B

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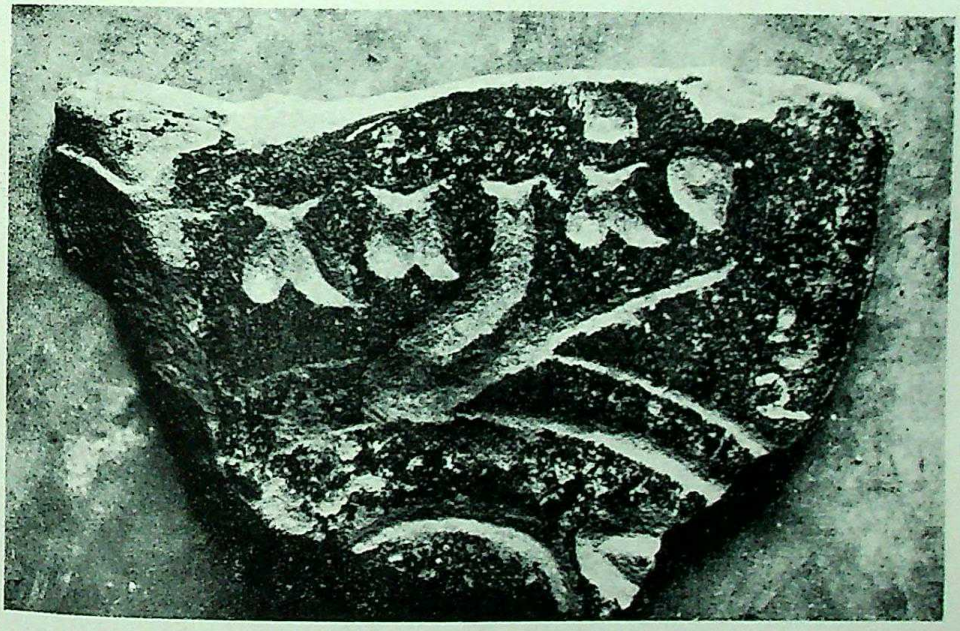
6. Śaṅkhalipi inscription at site C



7. Śaṅkhalipi inscription in Patna Museum

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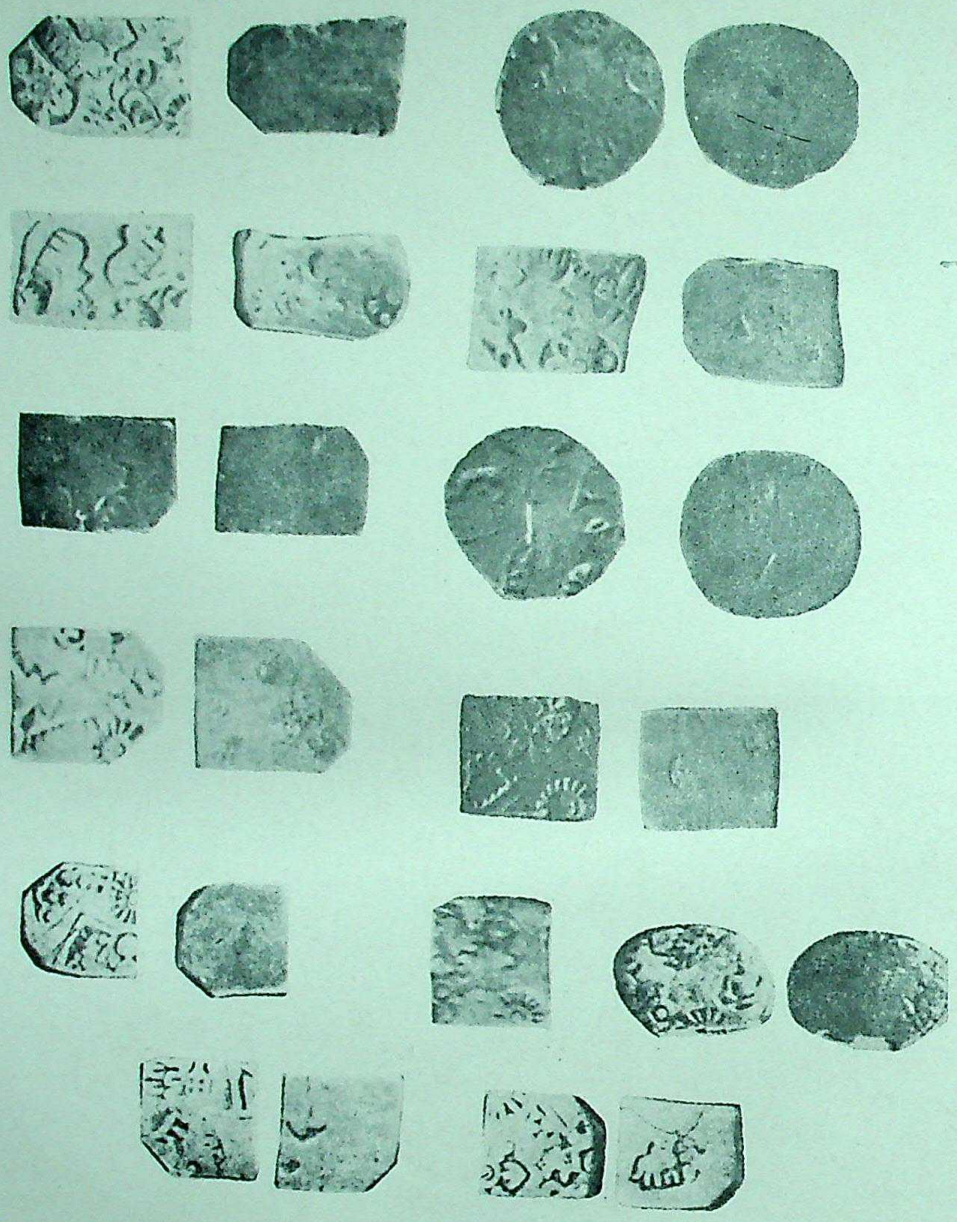

8. Kinjar Hoard of Silver Panch-Marked Coins

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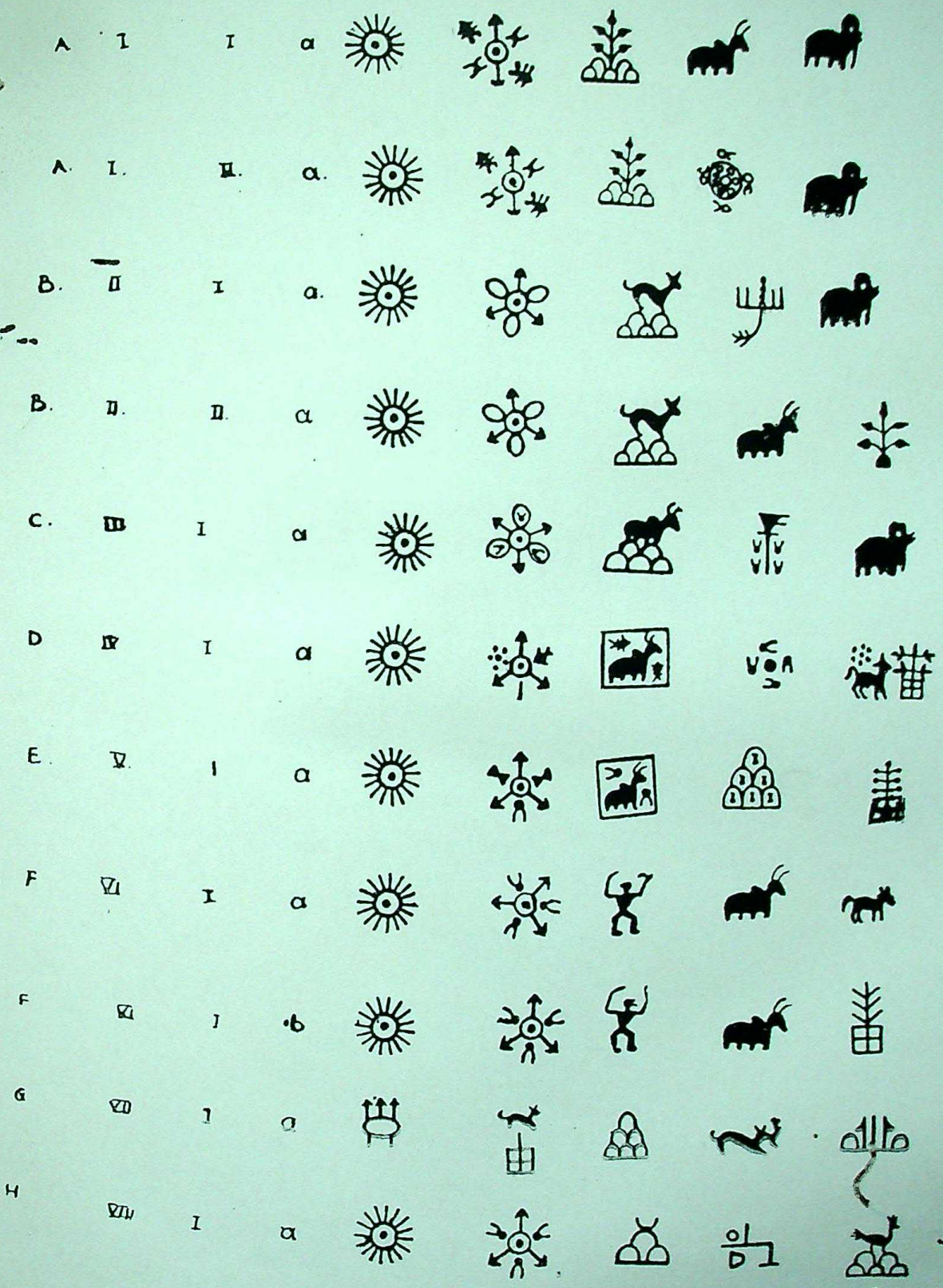

9. Obverse Symbols on the Punch-marked Coin

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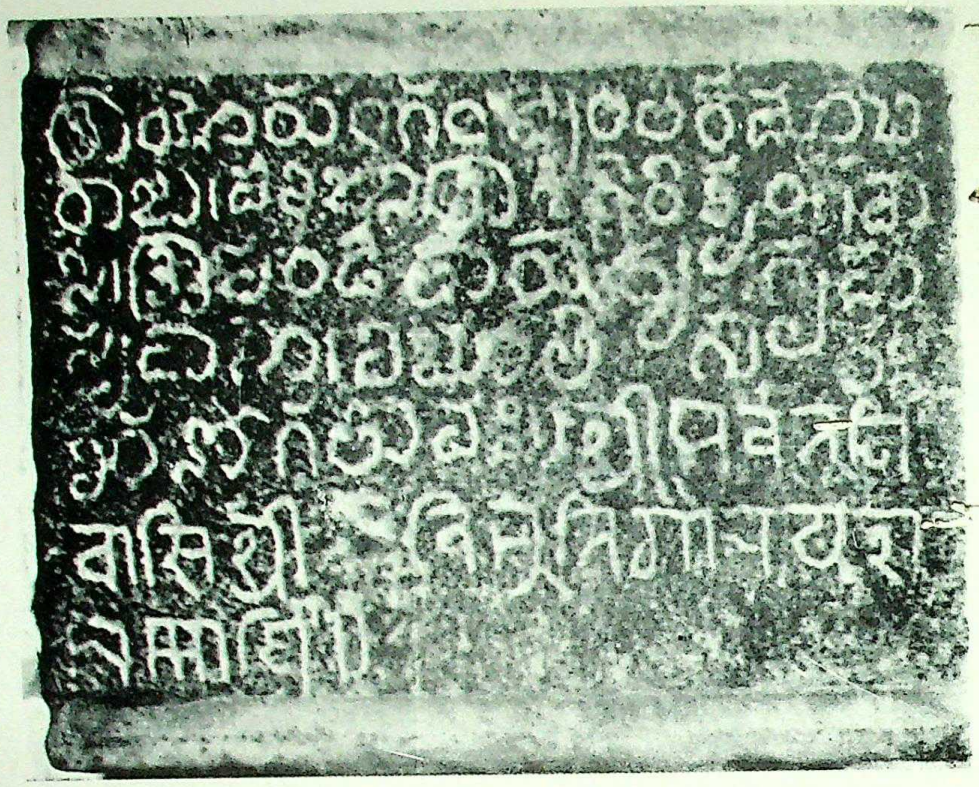

10. Pillar inscription from Bhateśvara Temple

11. Vibhuti Gaurayya, one of the Saivite divinities of Warangal

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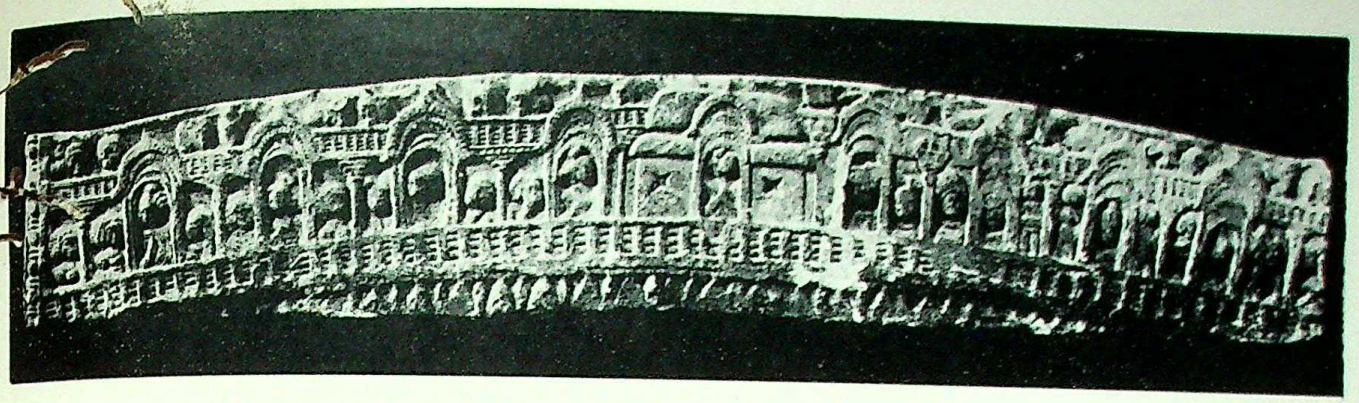
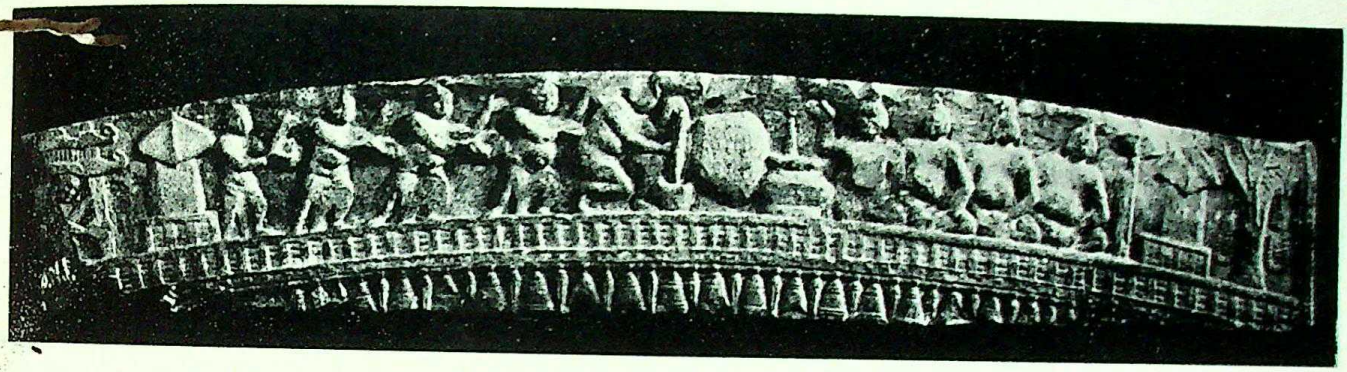
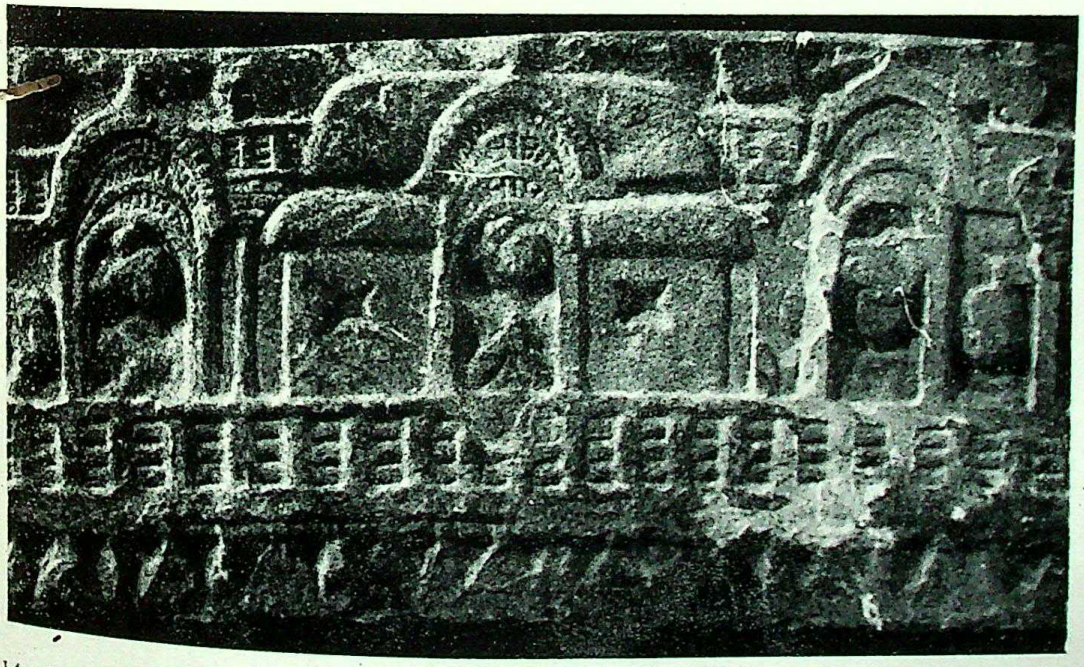


12. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st cent. B.C.
Representation of a sharine (obverse)



13. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st cent. B.C.
Representation of *sattra* (reverse)



14. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st cent. B.C.
Details of obverse

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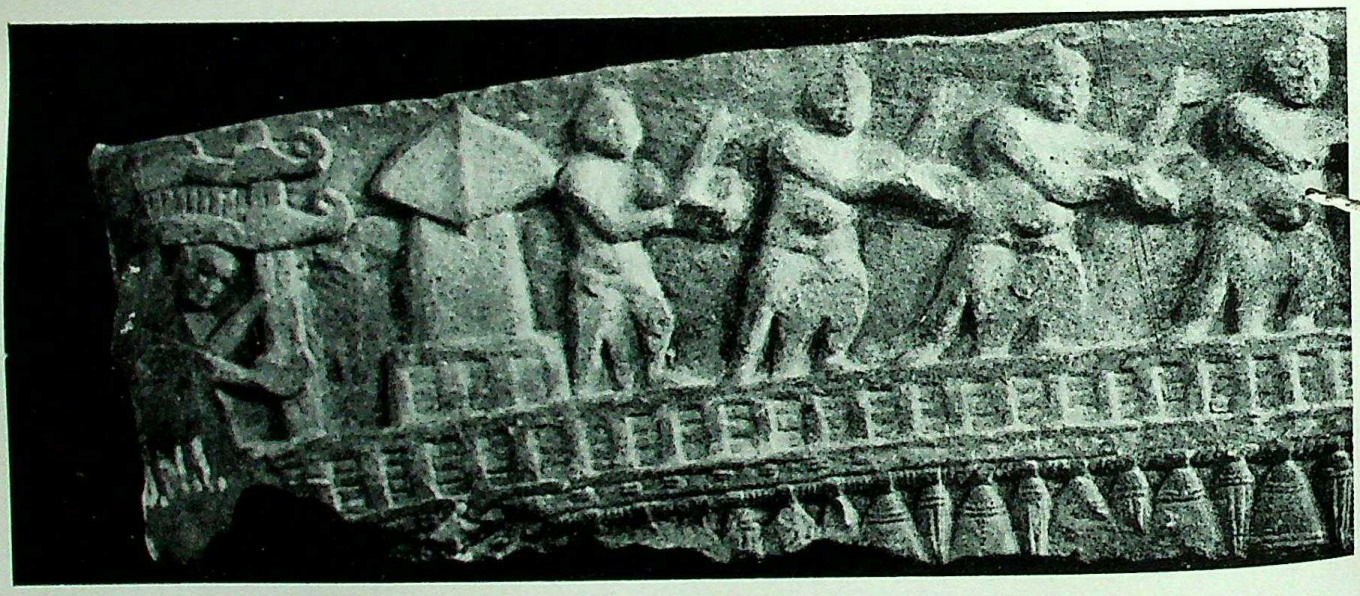
15. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st century B.C.
Details of reverse



16. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st. century B.C.
Details of reverse

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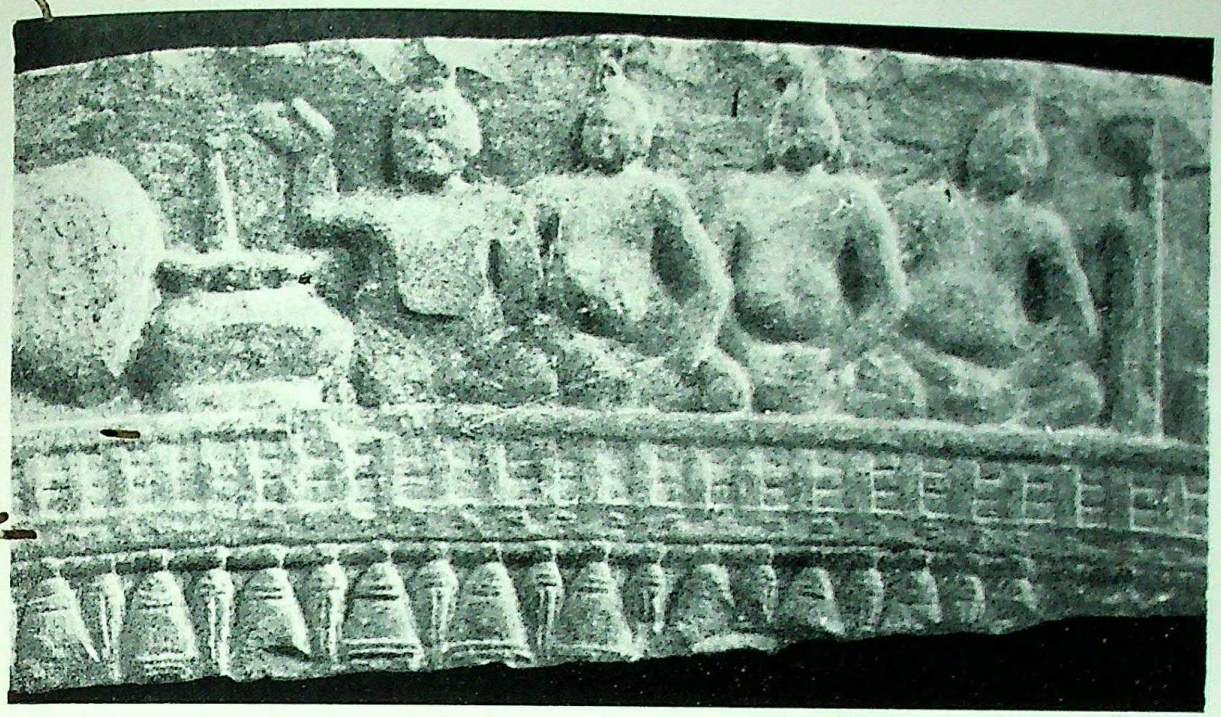
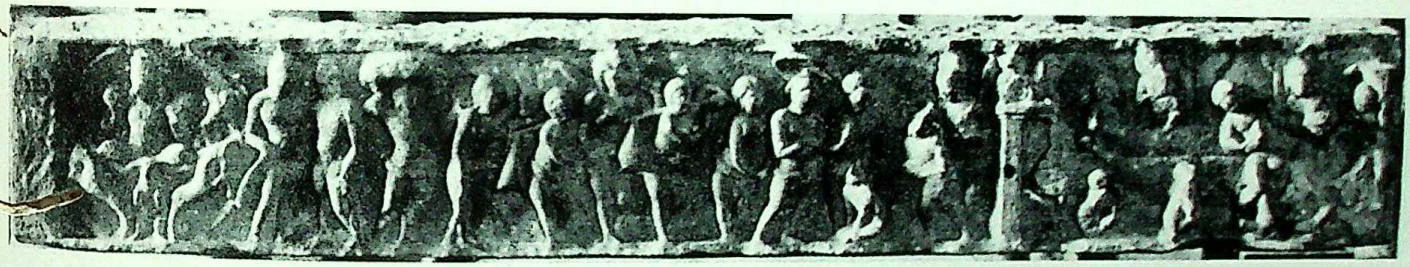
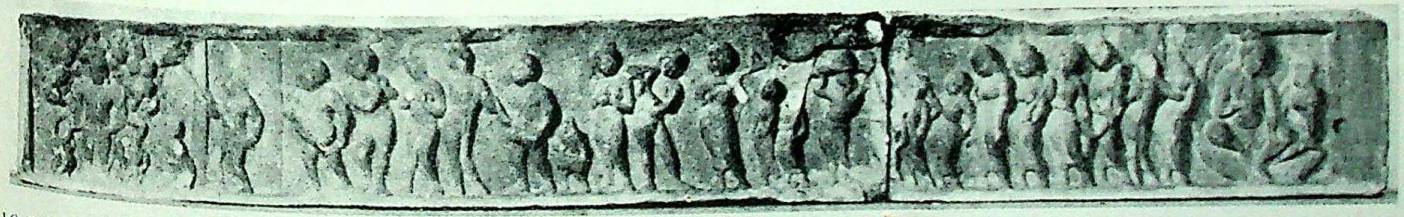


17. Curved lintel from Mathura, 1st century B.C.
Details of reverse



18. Lintel depicting *sattra* amidst scenes of Vaiṣṇava worship from Garhwa, 5th century A.D.
(Left half)



19-20. Lintel depicting *sattra* amidst scenes of Vaiṣṇava worship from Garhwa, 5th century A.D.
(Right half)

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21. Lintel from Garhwa, 5th century A.D. Details

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22. Lintel from Garhwa, 5th century A D. Details

23. Lintel from Garhwa, 5th century A.D. Details

24. Lintel from Garhwa, 5th century A.D. Details

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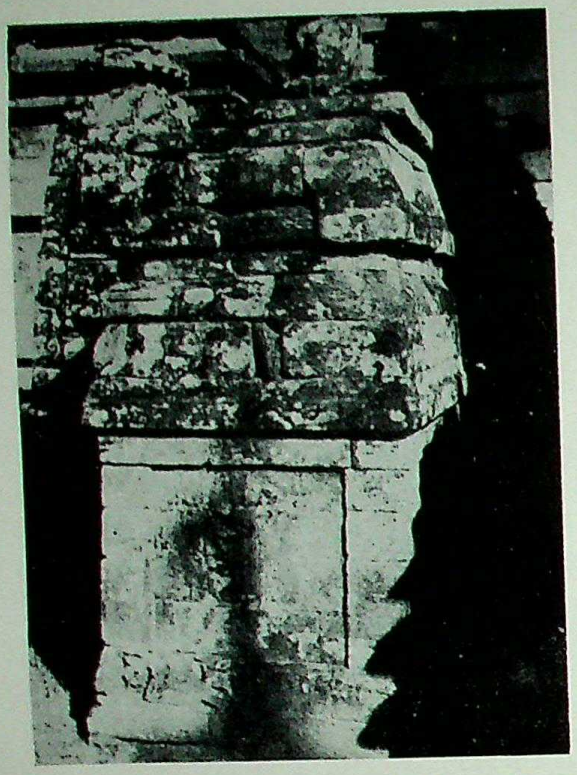
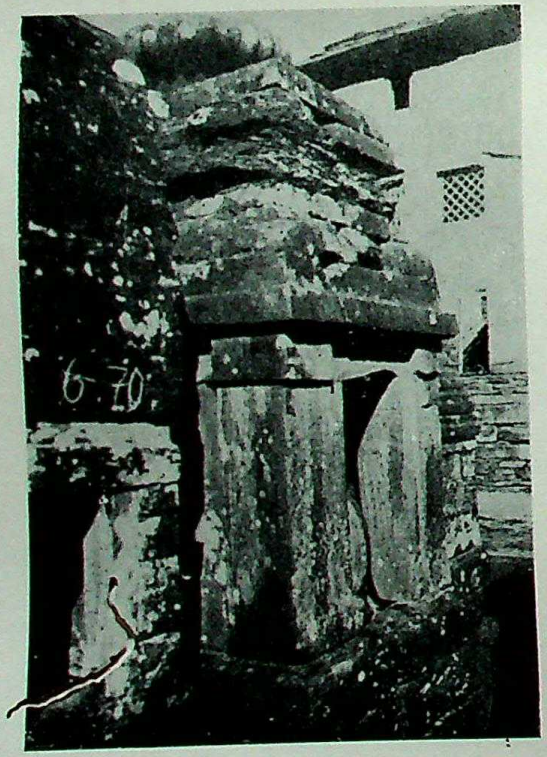
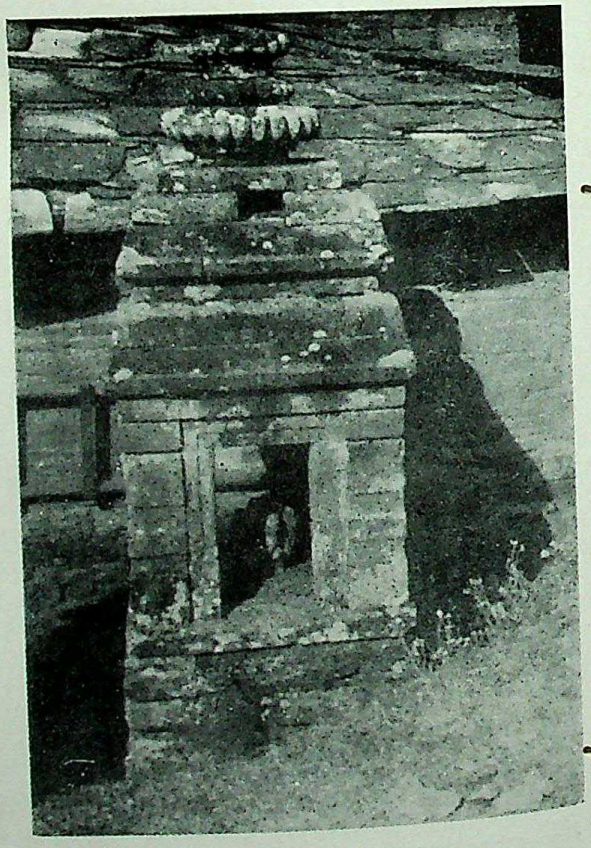


25. Temple No. 1 (Jageswar)

26. Temple No. 2 (Jageswar)



27. Temple No. 3 (Jageswar)



28. Temple No. 4 (Jageswar)

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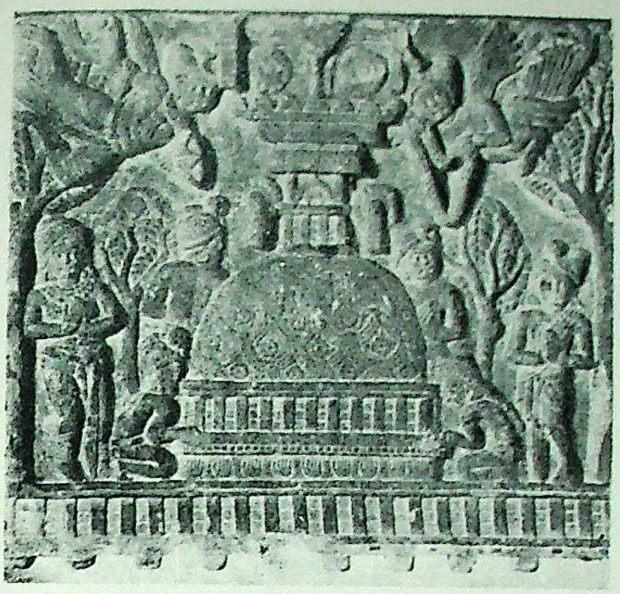
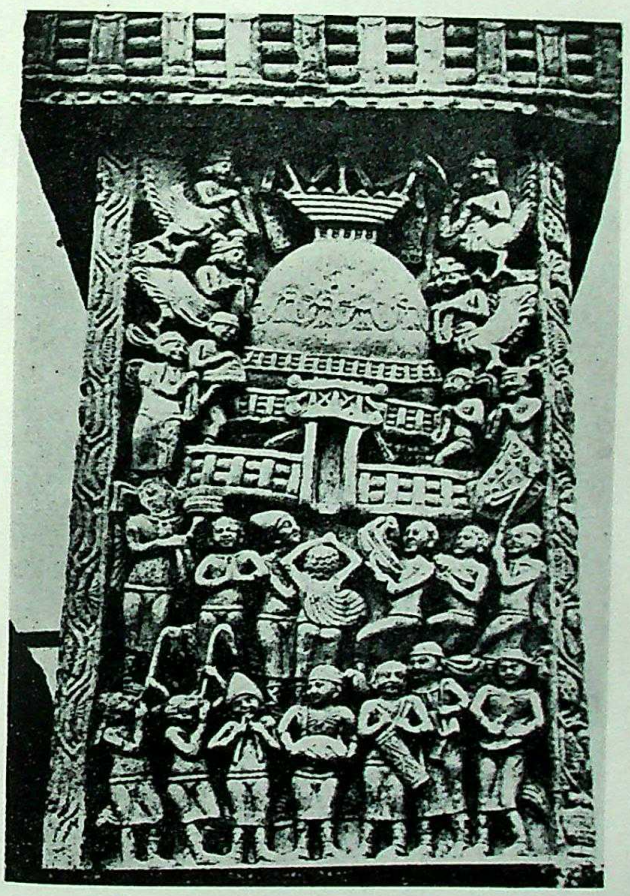


29. Worship of Stupa, Barhut, 2nd century B.C.



30. Worship of Stupa, Sanchi Stupa I, North Gate, 1st century B.C.

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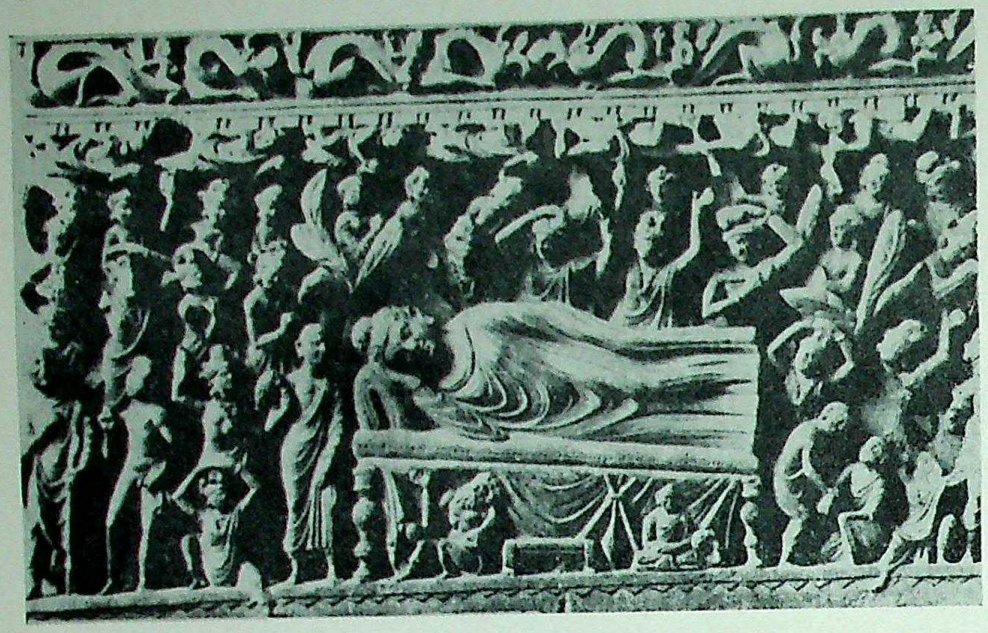
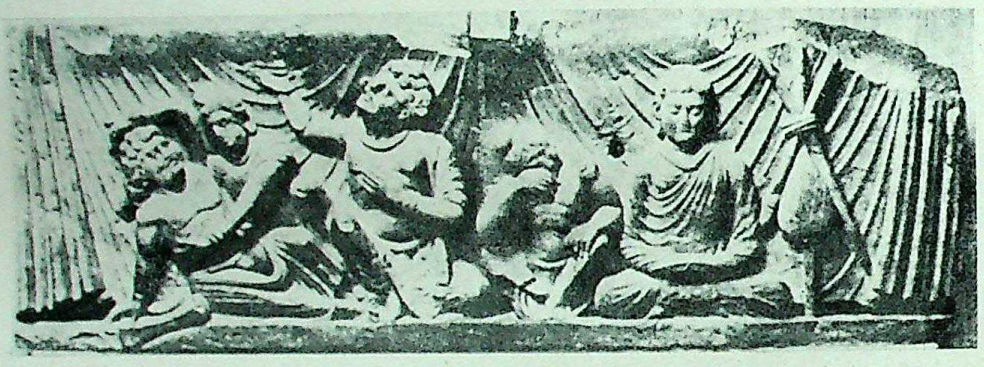
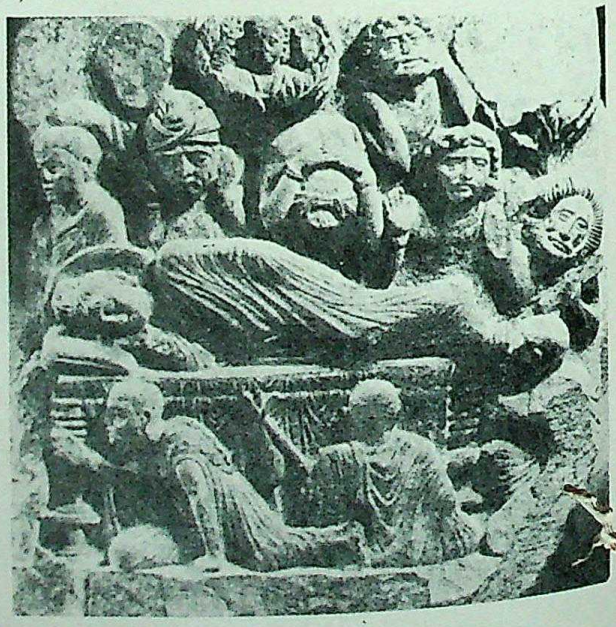


31. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Gandhara 2nd/3rd cent. A.D.



32. Frieze below the Buddha's cot, Gandhara, 3rd cent. A.D.



33. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Gandhara, 2nd/3rd cent. A.D.

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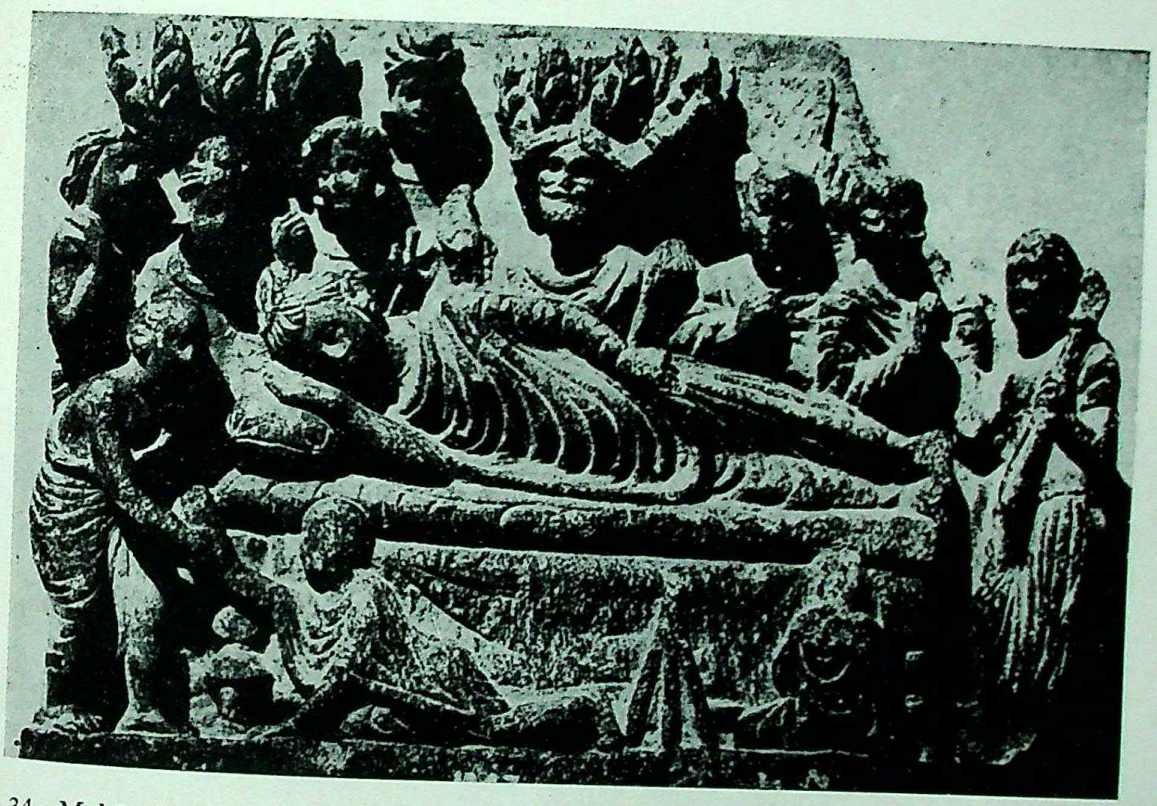

34. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Gandhara, 2nd/3rd cent. A.D.

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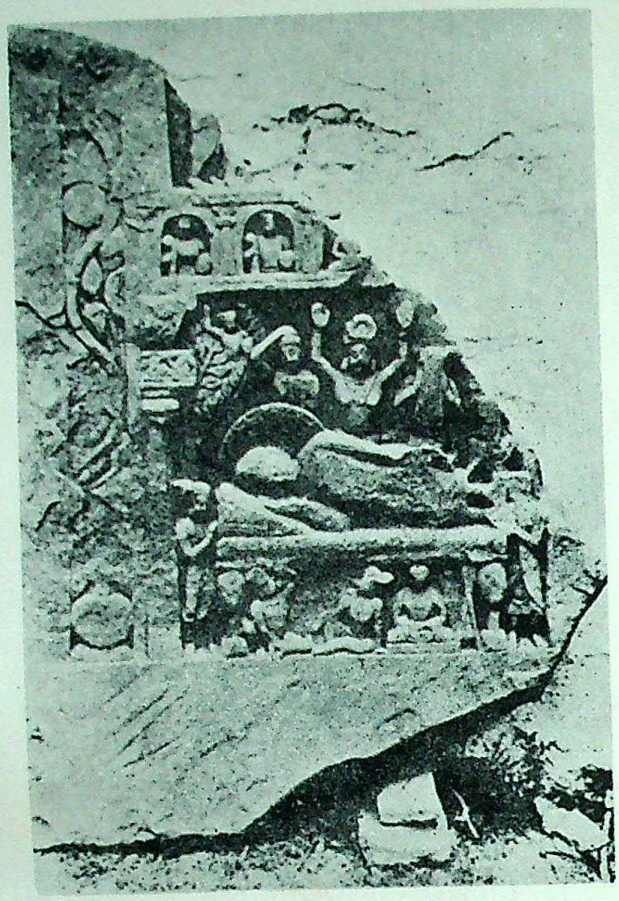
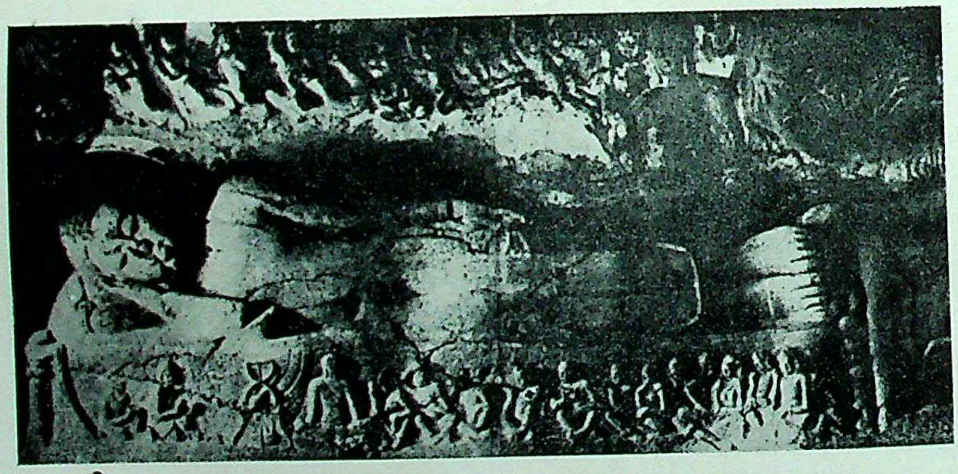


35. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Mathura, 2nd cent. A.D.



36. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Ajanta cave - 26

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37. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Ajanta cave – 26

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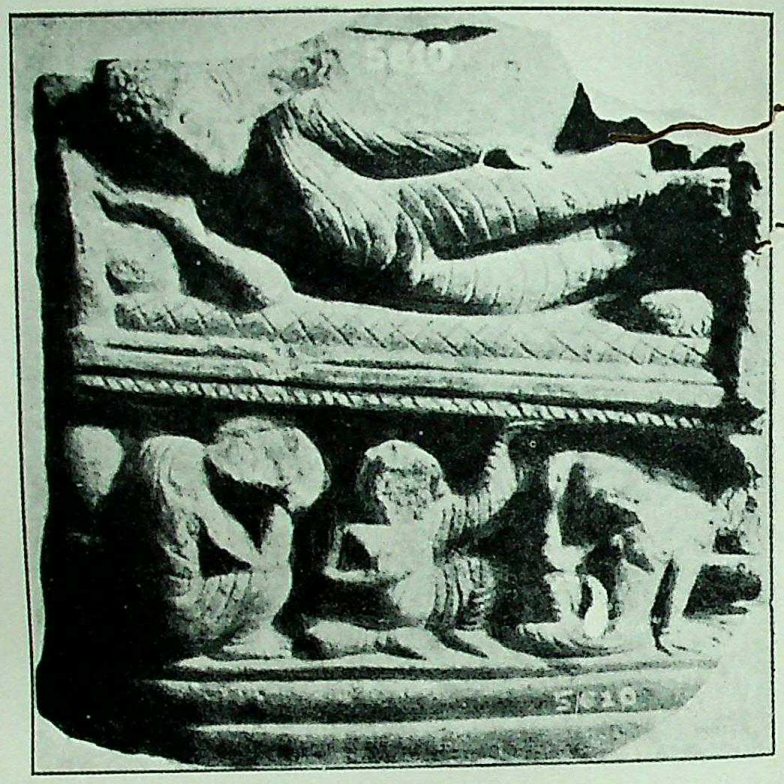
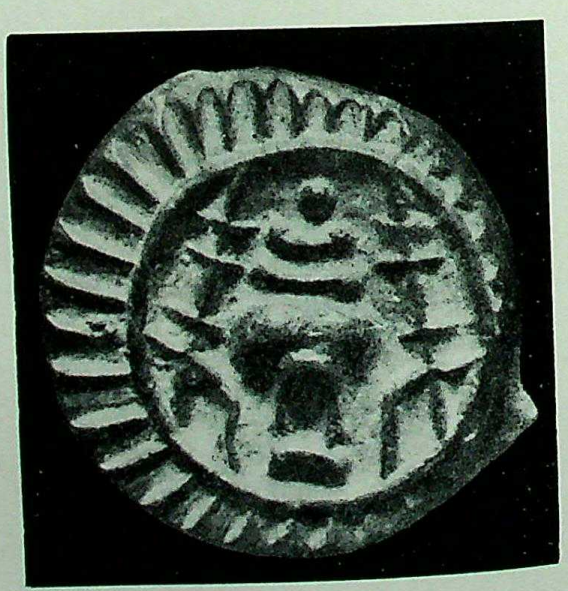
38. Scenes from life of Buddha, Sarnath, late 5th cent. A.D.



39. Mahāparinirvāṇa, Sabhar, Dacca, 11th cent. A.D.

40. Vishṇukuṇḍi coin (obverse).



41. Vishṇukuṇḍi coin (reverse).

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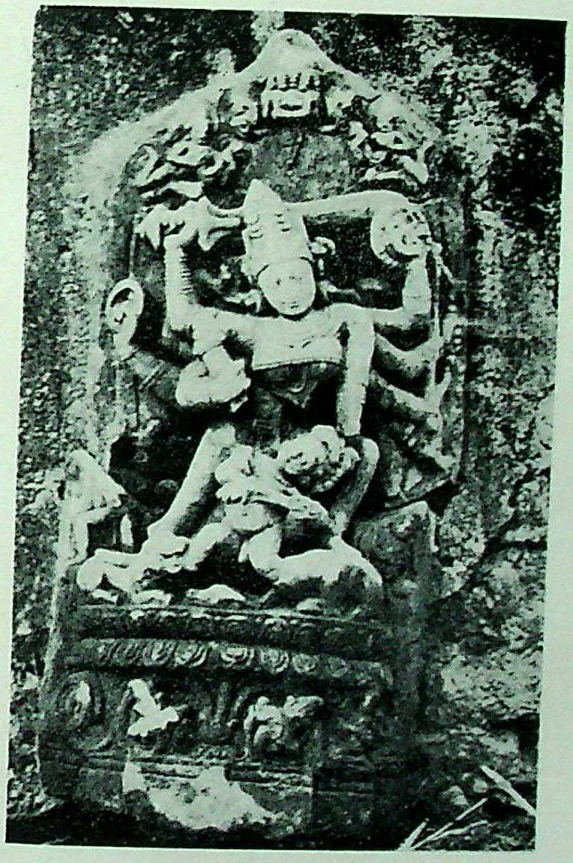
42. Depiction of a temple on Vishṇukuṇḍi Coins.



43. Eight-armed Mahishamardini Amankāndī,
24 Parganas, West Bengal, c. 9th cent. A.D.

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44. Brass lamp from Nepal

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45. Naga King in anjali-mudra

46. Damsel in tribhaṅga pose

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47. Vighnāntaka in Pratyaliḍha attitude.

48. Chundā, Cambridge University Ms. No. Add. 1643.

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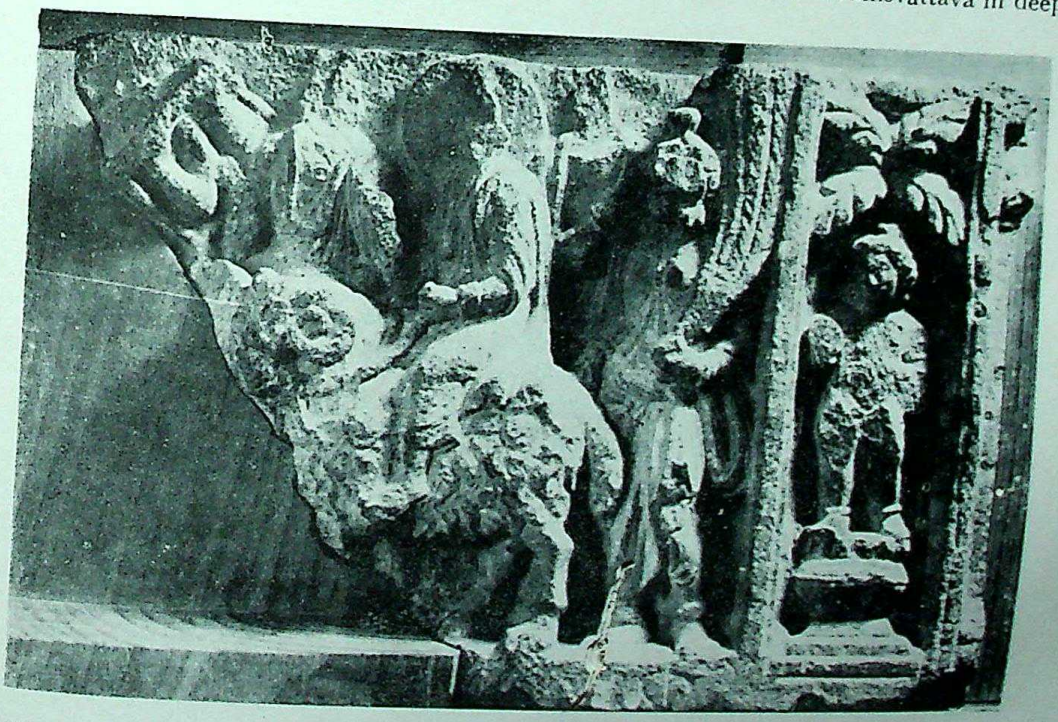
49. Apitakuchā-Pārvati; Kagajipara, Bangladesh.

51. Bodhisvattava in deep trance.



50. Bodhisvattava riding a cart drawn by two rams.

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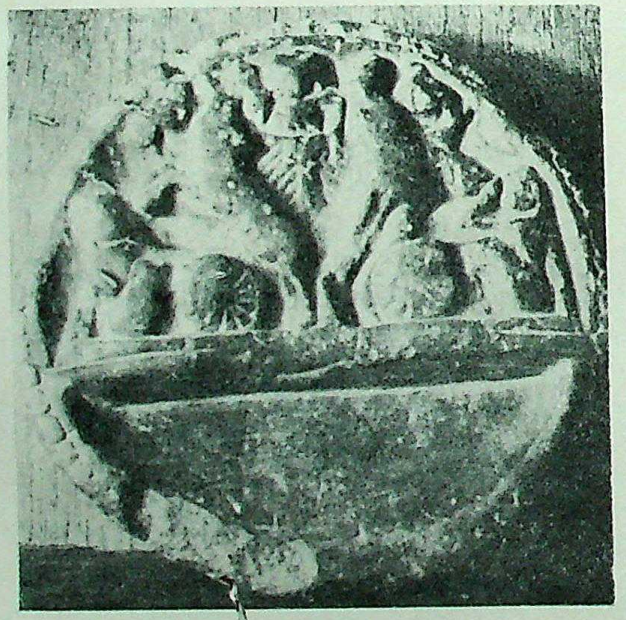
52. Bodhisvattava in Dhyana-Mudra

53. Standing Bodhisvattava



54. Surya, Gandhara

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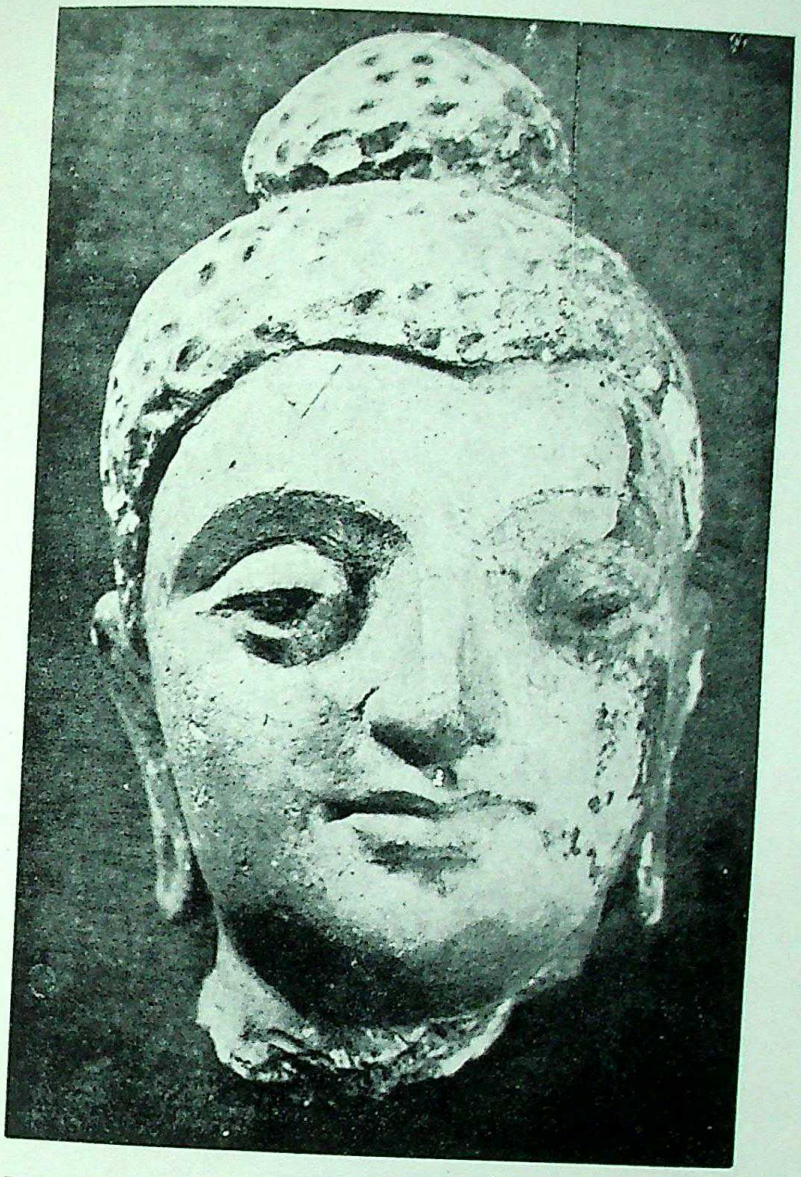

55. Bodhisvattava Head.

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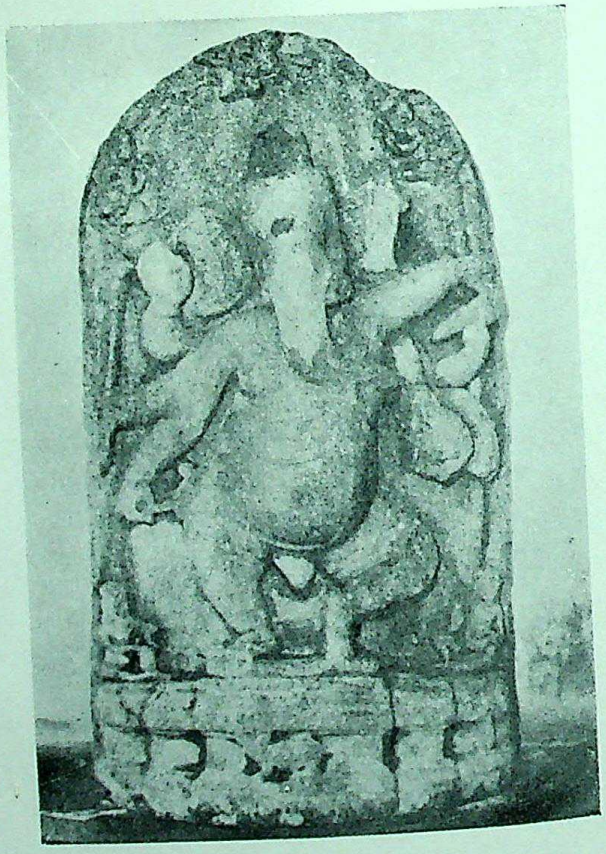
56. Dancing Gaṇeśa, Gaya, Bihar

57. Dancing Gaṇeśa, Gaya, Bihar



58. Simhavahini Durga in Lalitasana, Gaya, Bihar

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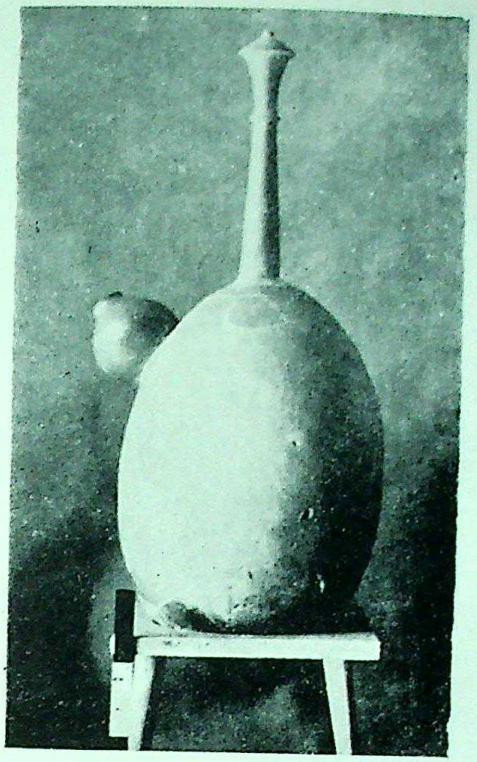
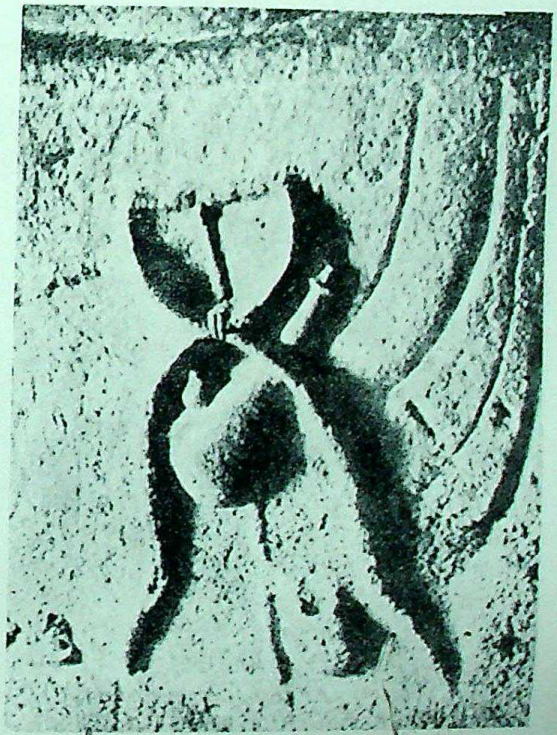
59. Dancing Gaṇeśa, Gaya, Bihar



60. Sprinkler, from Mathura

61. Sprinkler in Bodhisvattava, Maintreya's hand, Lahore

62. Sprinkler in the hand of Bodhisvattava, Lokeśvara, Nalanda



63. Sprinkler from Mahāparinirvāṇa scene, Cave No. 26. Ajanta

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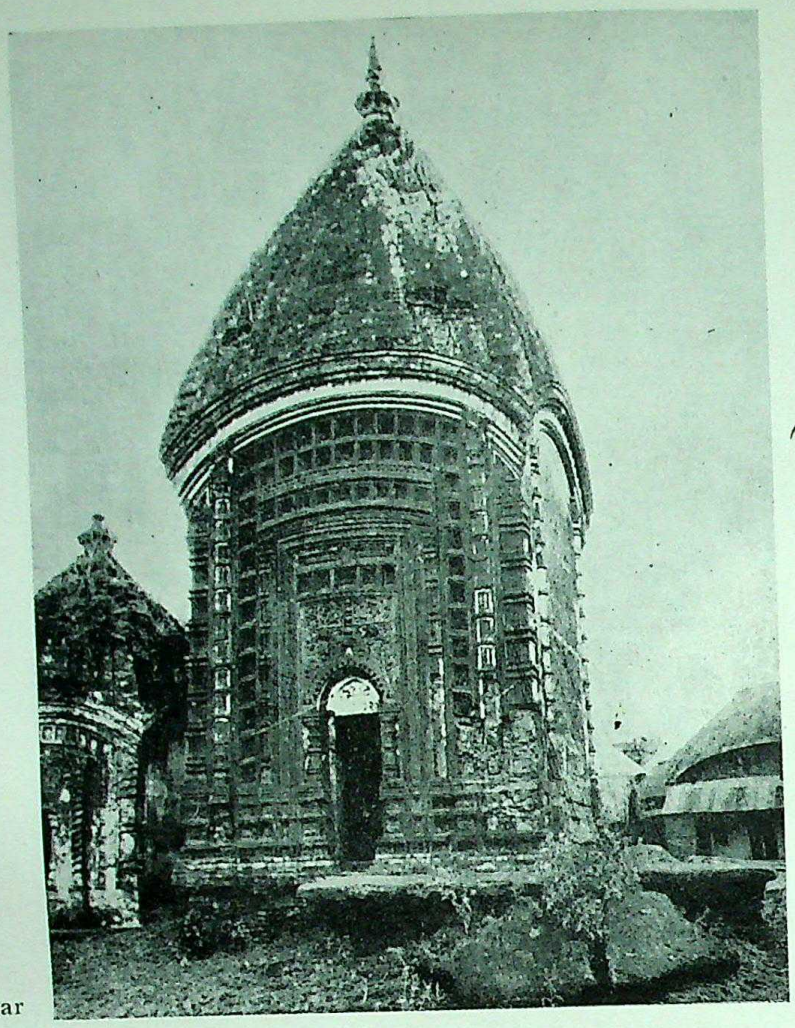
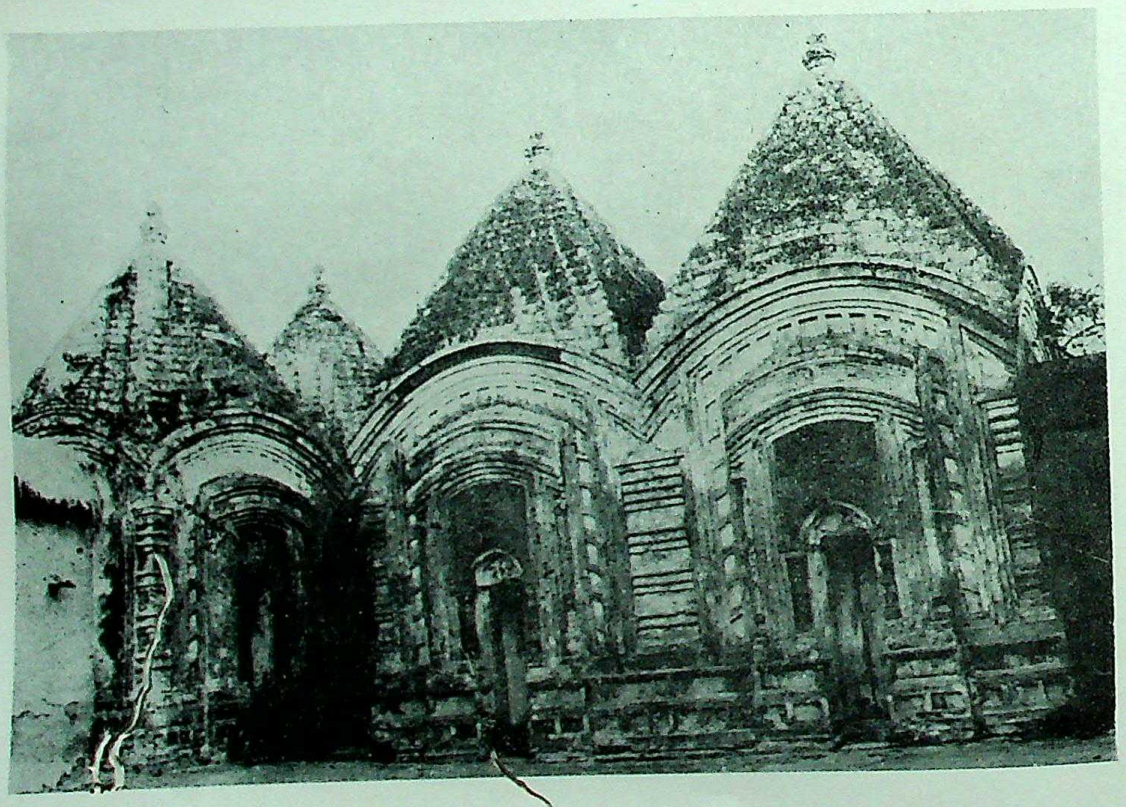


64. Terracotta Temple, Maluti, Bihar

65. Group of Temples, Maluti, Bihar



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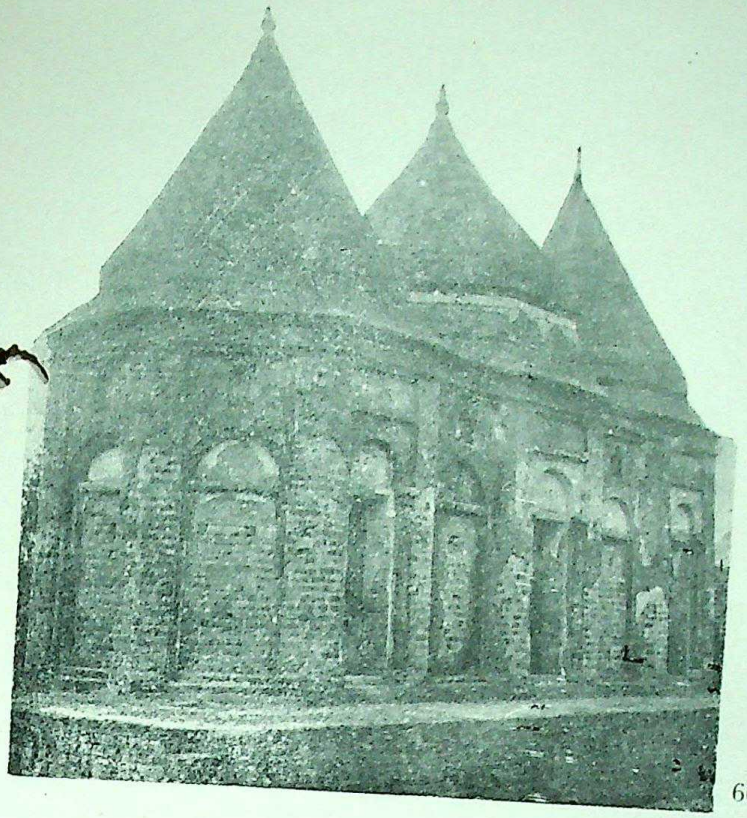

66. Triplet Temple, Maluti, Bihar

67. Orissan style temple, Maluti, Bihar

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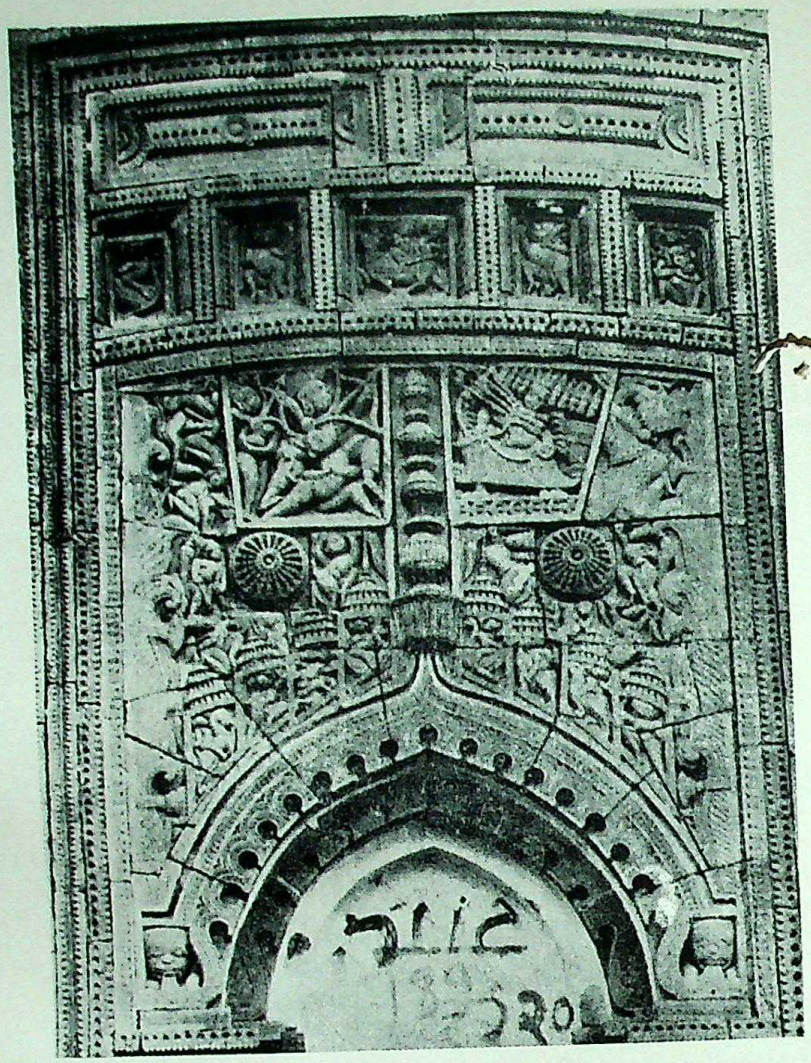
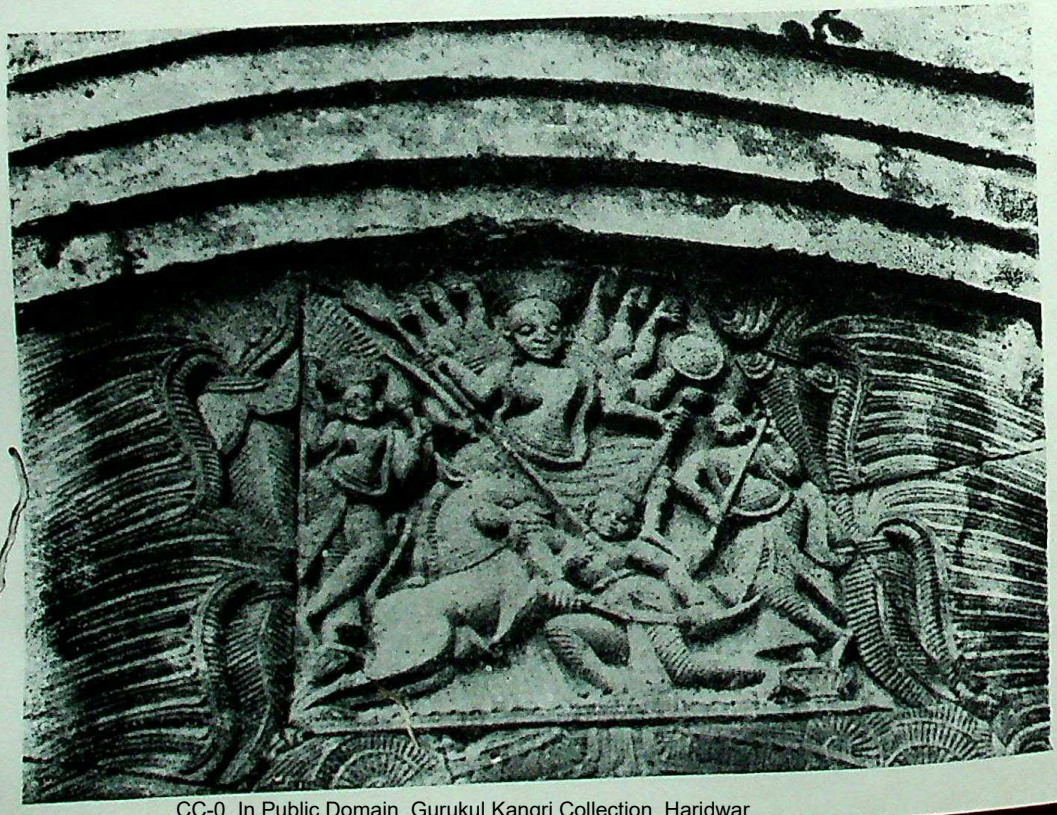


68. Terracotta plaque depicting Ramlila and Krishnlila scenes

69. Terracotta plaque depicting Mahisasurmardini



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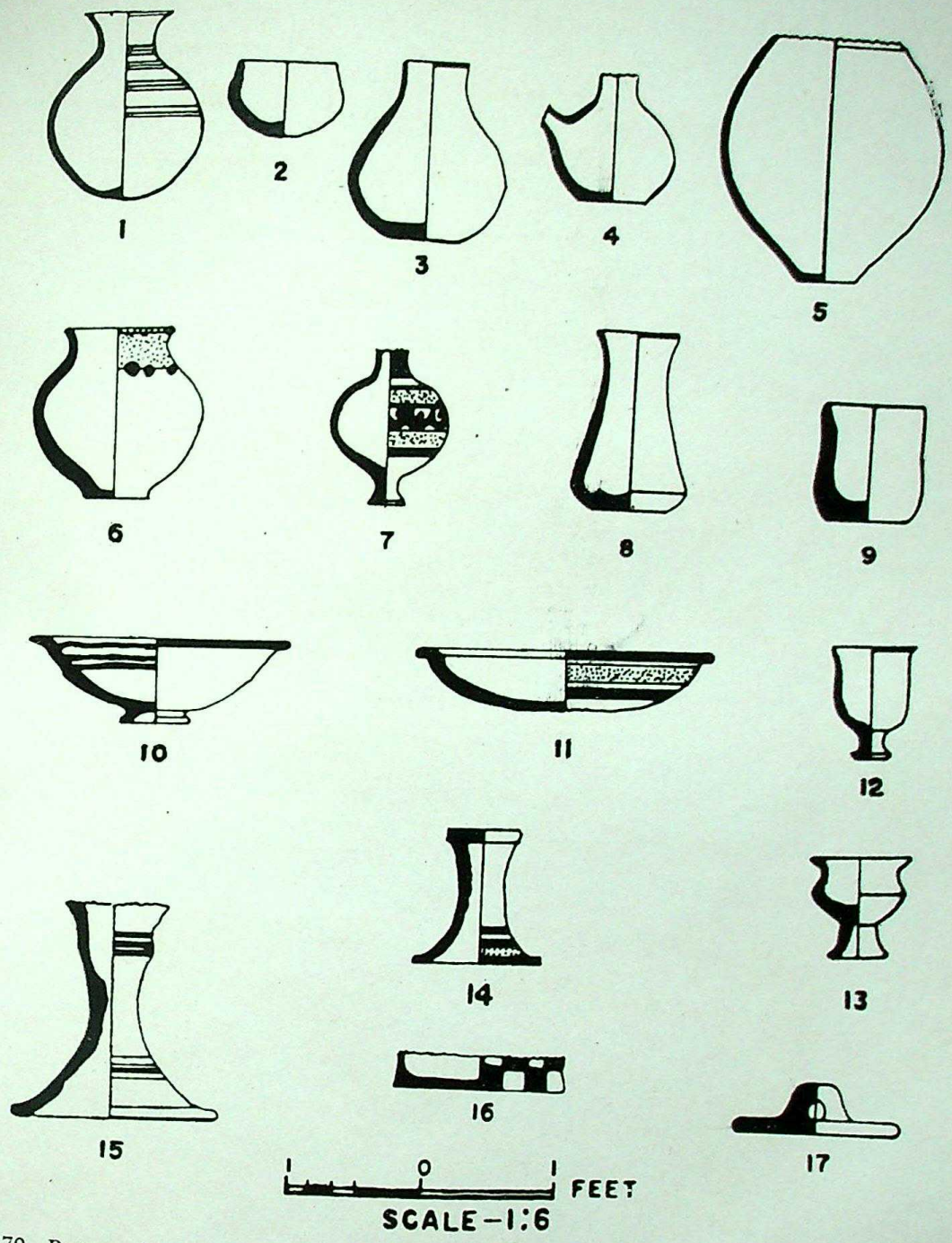

70. Pottery shapes, Jhukar

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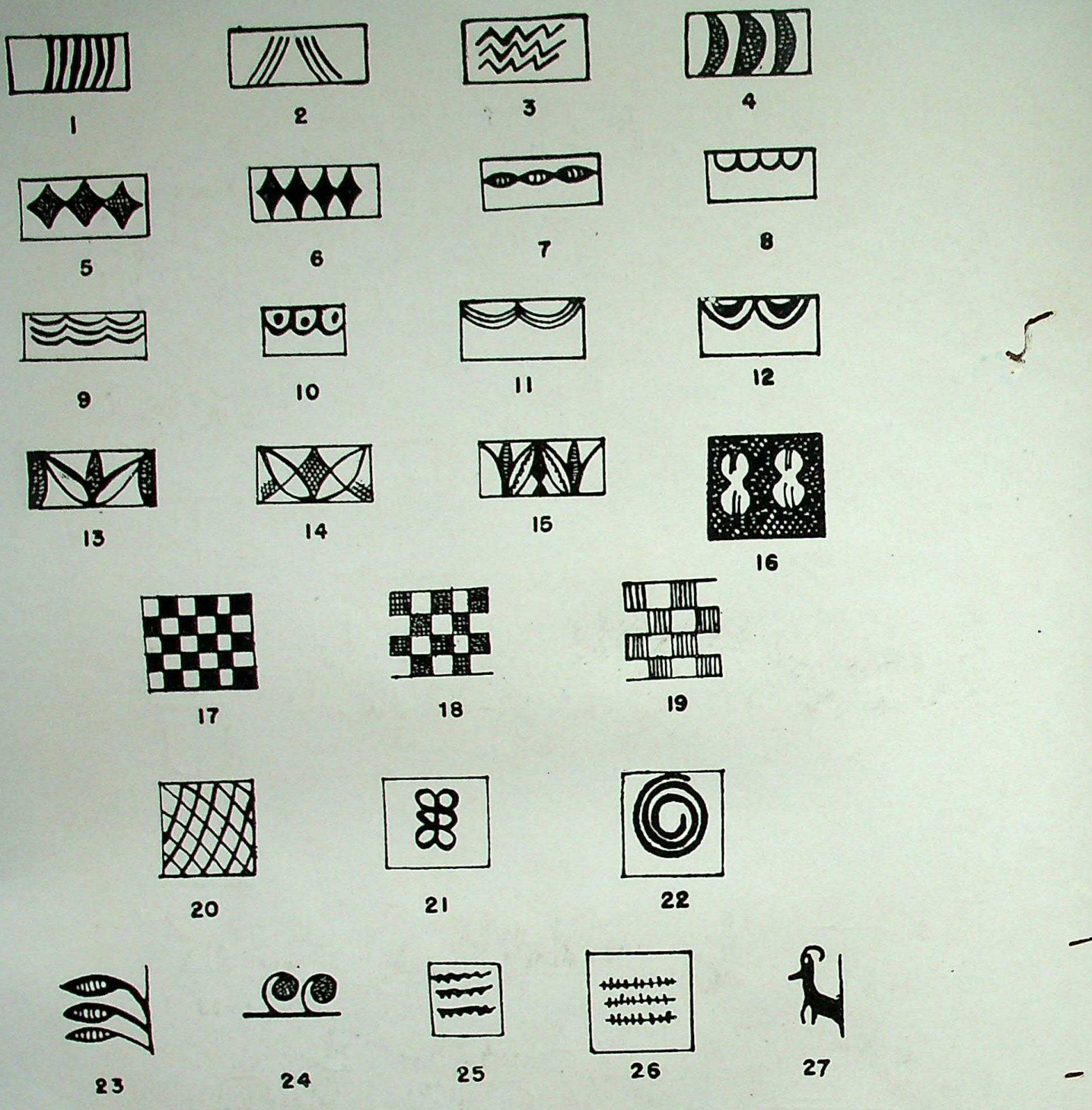

71. Pottery designs, Jhukar

72. Head, Mathurā

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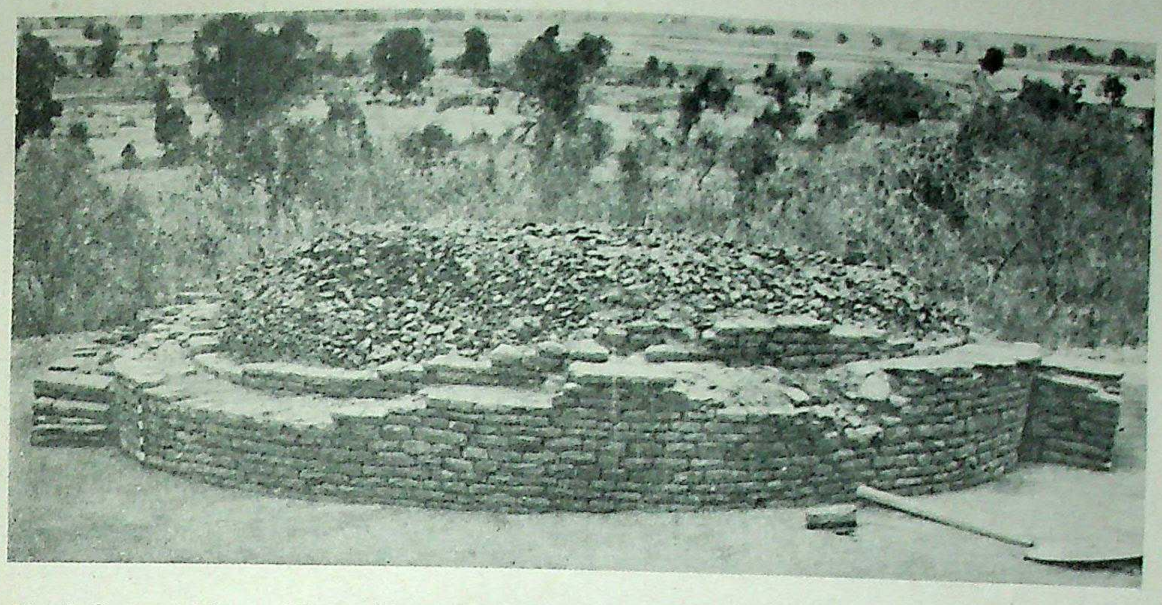
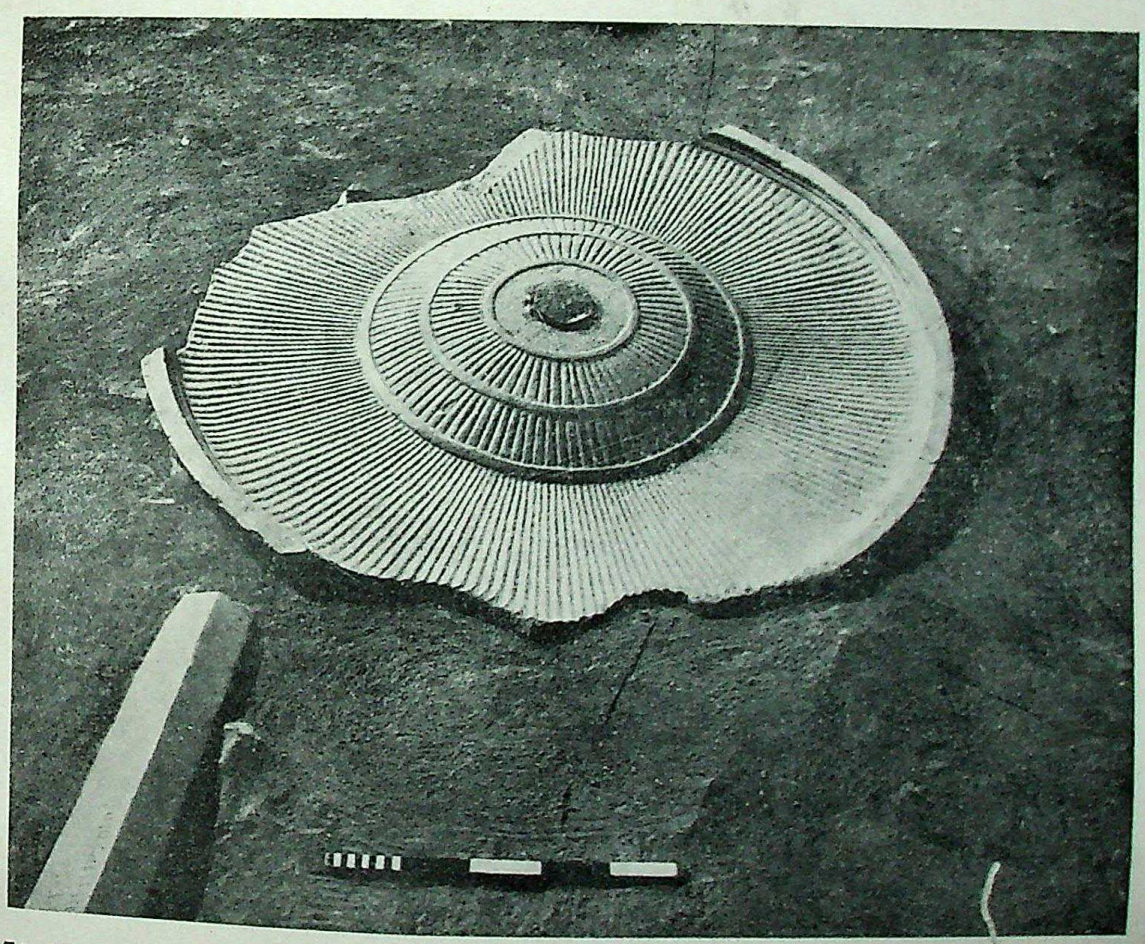


73. A General View of Stupa, Panguraria



74. Umbrella (Chhatra) of the Stupa from East, Panguraria

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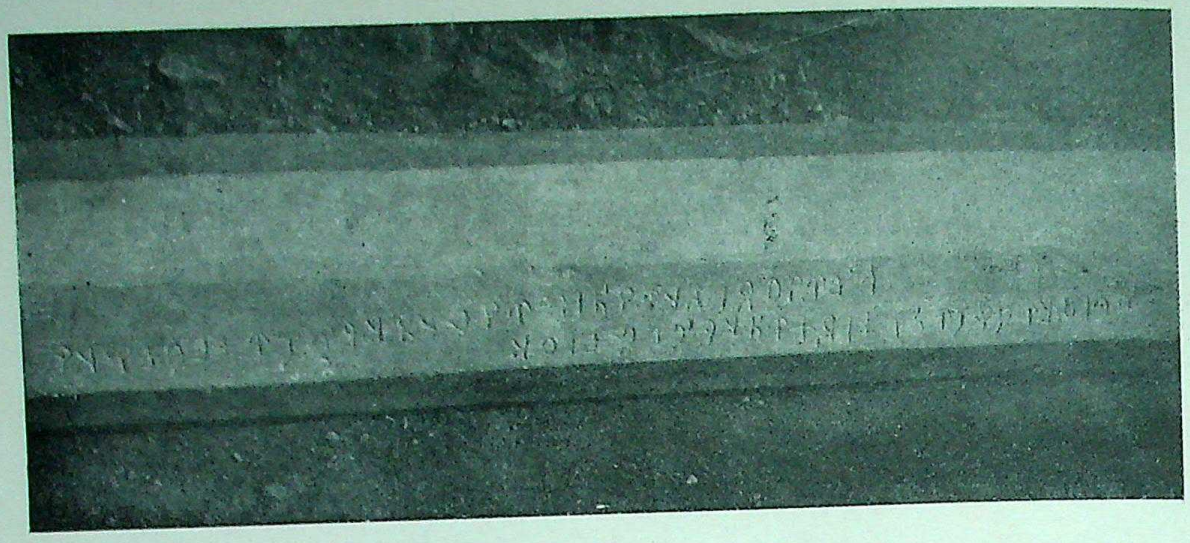

75. Inscription on the shaft of the Stupa, Panguraria.

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76. Aramaic inscription, Kandahar.

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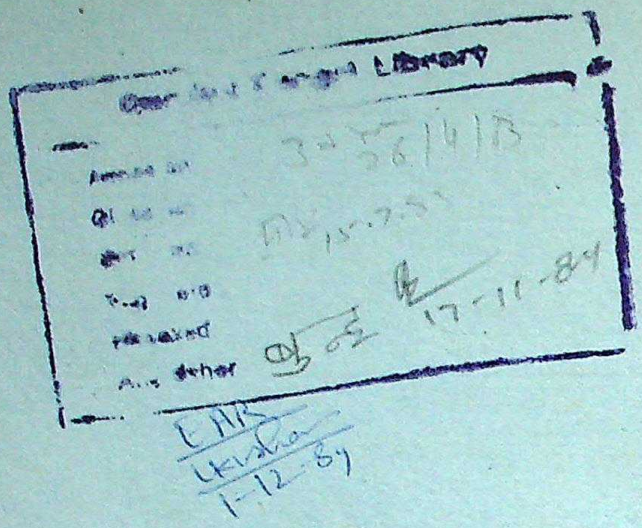

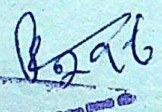

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